J. M. W. TURNER



AND THE ROMANTIC VISION OF THE HOLY LAND AND THE BIBLE

Mordechai Omer

McMULLEN MUSEUM OF ART • BOSTON COLLEGE



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This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *J. M. W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible*, at the Charles S. and Isabella V. McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, October 8 to December 15, 1996.

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front cover:

NO. 39

J. M. W. Turner
Jerusalem, Pool of Bethesda
1832-1834
watercolor on paper
140 x 200
Gift of Jan Krugier, Geneva, in memory of Miss Marguerite Bleuler, Israel Museum Collection, Jerusalem

back cover:

NO. 53

J. M. W. Turner
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1834-1835
watercolor on paper
127 x 203
Private Collection, courtesy of Thos. Agnew & Sons, London

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Messages from the Honorary Patrons of the Exhibition

The heart of the Holy Land is Jerusalem named by Isaiah "the holy city" (Isaiah 52:1), sacred to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. For the Jew, Jerusalem is the divine dwelling place symbolized in the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple. For the Christian, Jerusalem is the center from which the preaching of the Gospel radiated throughout the world. For the Muslim, Jerusalem is the site of one of Islam's principal shrines, made holy by the Night Journey of the Prophet.

From early times pilgrims have visited the Holy Land, especially Jerusalem, filled with the enthusiasm of the Psalmist: "I was glad when they said to me, 'Let us go to the house of the Lord!' Our feet are standing within your gates, O Jerusalem" (Psalms 122:1-2). For those unable to make a pilgrimage, this exquisite Boston College exhibition, *J. M. W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible,* will be a profoundly religious experience, bringing within the reach of every viewer the inspiration of the Holy Land.

This exhibition will have been a marvelous achievement, if it leads to a greater understanding among people of all faiths, prompting them to pray with the Psalmist for the peace of Jerusalem: "May they prosper who love you. Peace be within your walls, and security within your towers" (Psalms 122:7).

His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law
Boston, 1996

No spot on earth can claim as much religious and historical consciousness as the Holy City of Jerusalem. Being sacred to three monotheistic faiths, it relentlessly and constantly evokes feelings of religious territorialism among believers, albeit mixed with nostalgia to a glorious and controversial past, which all hopelessly aspire to enact sometime in the future. Consequently, every aspect related to Jerusalem has not only been studied, but probed to the point of exhaustion, except that of art.

The exhibition *J. M. W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible* comes as a relief to all believers from Jerusalem's heavy legacy. In the paintings' subdued colors and flight of fantasy, the Holy

Land comes across as a land of eternal peace. Even the Biblical calamities portrayed in some art works seem less cruel than our present. Subsequently, one cannot but wonder why the people who cherish Jerusalem so much and, who trace their common ancestry to Abraham, cannot realize that it is time their belief in One God should finally unite them in peace. Much heartbreak can be spared and much more gained if only people can bring themselves to look towards their future instead of their past and present. Hopefully the exhibition and the educational program which accompanies it might give us all a new perspective of the Holy Land that is detached from our inherited and acquired fears and obsessions, and help us in becoming more tolerant towards others as well as ourselves.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS WIJDAN ALI
AMMAN, 1996

Jerusalem is the birthplace of three monotheistic religions, which relate to the same god, and the same father: Abraham. Since all of us are sons of Abraham, should we not try to behave like brothers of a single family? Jerusalem gave the great spirit to the world. It is the undivided city where each and every believer has the right to pray by his own book. From the praying lips to the open skies there must be neither censorship nor intervention. Jerusalem being the capital of Israel must not prevent the existence of tolerance among the holders of different opinions, neither deny the possibility that from Zion came out peace to all nations.

The special paintings presented in this exhibition are an attempt to recreate through brushwork the extraordinary and changing lights of the city—partially visible and partially hidden, that caress the ancient buildings. This exhibition is a tribute to the exceptional city, Jerusalem, whose ancestry is still buried under its walls, and where hopes have begun to spread throughout the whole region.

MR. SHIMON PERES
TEL-AVIV, 1996

Director's Preface

It is a great privilege to introduce *J. M. W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible*, the most comprehensive exhibition of Turner's works of the Middle East and the Bible. This important group of paintings, watercolors, engravings and mezzotints, shown for the first time in America, has remained largely unknown except to serious students of Turner's oeuvre. The twenty-six engravings in the exhibition were made to illustrate Finden and Murray's *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible*, published in 1836. The engravings, nearly all shown here in the first state, were made after watercolors Turner painted between 1833 and 1835. This exhibition displays the largest number of these topographical watercolors of the Holy Land ever exhibited together, all of which were dispersed during the artist's lifetime. Turner never traveled to the Middle East but based his watercolors on sketches by other artists and architects who, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, visited the region as an extension of the Grand Tour. The most important source for Turner was the series of sketches of Old and New Testament sites by the English architect Sir Charles Barry (1795 - 1860). We are most pleased to mount the premiere showing of the eighteen architectural sketches by Barry which Turner used. In the exhibition and catalogue, the illustrations of the sites are arranged, also for the first time, according to the route that most tourists, and probably Sir Charles Barry, followed to the Middle East in the early nineteenth century.

This exhibition and catalogue are the results of a successful collaboration between the McMullen and Tel-Aviv museums of art. Professor Mordechai Omer, director of the latter, conceived of this exhibition, selected the works, agreed to lend his prints and wrote the accompanying catalogue. His lifelong passion for these works by Turner galvanized us all. We especially acknowledge supervisor of publications and exhibition coordinator, Jennifer Grinnell, who not only produced and edited the catalogue for an American audience with extraordinary discernment, but also located and arranged for all the loans. I can truly say that without her dedication and talent, this exhibition and catalogue would not exist. We are also grateful to Naomi Rosenberg for her thoughtful and careful editing of the text, to Patricia Nieshoff for her elegant design of this book, and to our curator Alston Conley for the inspired design and installation of the exhibition.

We are indebted, as well, to other members of the Museum staff for their devotion to this project, Alice Harkins, Melanie Hannon, Marilyn Heskett, Kerry Leonard, Rachel Mayer, Gabriella Palmieri, Jennifer Scuro, and, our ever-efficient administrator, Helen Swartz. Also, Boston College professors, Donald Dietrich, Jeffery

Howe, Ruth Langer and John Michalcyzk worked closely with me to organize the series of symposia and films which accompany the exhibition, and which explore the meaning of the Middle East to the three faith groups. I take further pleasure in acknowledging the help of Dan Holin, former public affairs officer of the Israeli consulate in Boston, who introduced me to Mordechai Omer and supported and helped guide this long project from beginning to end. Others at the Israeli consulate, especially the Consul General Dan Kyram, and the consul Ofra Fahri, lent the expertise of their offices, as well. I also extend special thanks to the British Consul General in Boston, James Poston.

No exhibition would exist without the generosity of its lenders and we extend special thanks to those who assisted this one in various ways: William Agnew, Stephanie Belt, Nicolai Cikovsky, Timothy Clifford, Benjamin Doller, Eleanor Gawne, Terry Harley-Wilson, Avraham Hay, Georges Heussi, Amalyah Keshet, Christopher Kingzett, Teddy Kollek, Susan Lambert, Daphna Lapidot, Jill Lever, Loveday Manners-Price, Christopher Mendez, Gwyn Miles, Michael Millward, Judith Paisner, Cornelia Pallavicini, Georgina Pelham, Martin Peretz, Meira Perry-Lehmann, Maria de Peverelli-Luschi, Earl A. Powell III, Hasia Rimon, Katherine Ross, Alan Shestack, Maggie Sims, Janice Slater, Bret Waller, Henry Wemyss, James Wilson and Andrew Wyld. We especially thank the anonymous private lenders for generously agreeing to entrust their works to this exhibition.

J. M. W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible represents a commitment of considerable resources. Thus, we are grateful to the administration of Boston College, especially William Leahy, S. J., J. Donald Monan, S. J., Margaret Dwyer, William Neenan S. J., Francis Campanella, J. Robert Barth, S. J., and Richard Spinello.

The McMullen Museum acknowledges with warm gratitude the essential and generous patronage by Thomas H. Quinn, class of 1990, who has underwritten partial cost of the catalogue. We also extend thanks to other supporters of the exhibition: the Friends of the Boston College Museum of Art, chaired by Nancy and John Joyce, William F. McLaughlin, Gerard and Brigitte Moufflet, and the Atrium Mall at Chestnut Hill.

Finally, in addition to its scholarly mission, the exhibition aims to foster a spirit of ecumenism and positive dialogue among Christians, Muslims and Jews. To this end, we are especially grateful to those who have served as the exhibition's honorary patrons from its inception, Their Royal Highnesses Prince Ali bin Nayef and Princess Wijdan Ali of Jordan, Former Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel, and His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law, Archbishop of Boston. It is our hope that this exhibition and its educational programs will make a lasting contribution to the ecumenical culture and society of New England.

NANCY NETZER

Acknowledgements

The genesis of this exhibition and catalogue *J. M. W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible,* and Chapter One in particular, occurred while I was studying biblical iconography in English Romantic art for my doctoral thesis at the University of East Anglia in the mid-1970s. I am chiefly indebted to my dissertation supervisor, John Gage, who watched over these studies with sympathetic criticism from their beginnings. The second chapter of the catalogue resulted from my research for the *Turner and the Bible* exhibition, which was mounted, for the first time, at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, in 1979, and then at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in 1981. The watercolors and prints appearing in the third chapter were first explored in the exhibition *Turner and the Poets*, commissioned by the Greater London Council in 1975, and for which I served as curator.

I am very grateful to the numerous museums and private collectors who, in the past, and more recently, have allowed me to study the works in their collections, provided documentation and photographs, and granted permission to reproduce the illustrations. All were ultimately instrumental, throughout the years, toward the assemblage of this exhibition. I am grateful to them all. I would especially like to acknowledge the assistance of Kenneth Garlick, John Harris, John Jacob, Evelyn Joll, Michael Kauffmann, Hugh Leggatt, Jill Lever, Meira Perry-Lehmann, D. W. Posnett, Lindsey Stainton, Martin Weyl, Andrew Wilton and Andrew Wyld.

Avraham Hay took great pains in photographing, as they appear today, many of the sites painted by Turner. I am most thankful to him for these excellent photographs which allow exciting comparisons between Barry's careful typography, Turner's romantic adaptations, and the present state of the landscape and buildings which, in some cases, have changed very little.

Last, and most especially, I thank Prof. Nancy Netzer, Director of the McMullen Museum of Art at Boston College, for inviting me to serve as curator for this exhibition, as well as for her tireless endeavors to enrich and expand its horizons. I would like to extend my thanks as well to the entire staff of the McMullen Museum of Art for their dedication to the successful completion of this exhibition, and especially Jennifer Grinnell who edited and supervised the publication of the catalogue, and organized the exhibition.

Mordechai Omer

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Private Collections

Note to the Reader:

The works in the catalogue are arranged to correspond to the exhibition's three main sections: the imaginary depictions of the Bible, the topographical landscapes of the Holy Land and the Bible, and the poetical visions from Milton and Thomas Campbell. The second, the topographical landscapes, are organized according to the most popular route which pilgrims followed to the Middle East in the early nineteenth century. Along the route, the works of each site are reproduced in chronological order.

Numbered images and plates in this book are works in the exhibition. Additional images are designated as "figures."

Measurements are given in millimeters, height preceding width. Measurements for engravings, etchings and drawings refer to the size of the plate or pencil mark, or, if not visible, the image.

Abbreviated references are listed in full at the back of the catalogue.



PLATE I (NO. I)

J. M. W. Turner
The Fifth Plague of Egypt
1800
oil on canvas
1240 x 1830
Indianapolis Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift
in memory of Evan F. Lilly, acc. no. 55.24



PLATE II (NO. 7)

J. M. W. Turner
The Evening of the Deluge
1843
oil on canvas
760 x 760
Timken Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, acc. no. 1960.6.40



PLATE III (NO. 9)

J. M. W. Turner
Egypt with the view of the Pyramids of Ghizah
1832-1843
watercolor on paper
137 x 210
Indianapolis Museum of Art, Gift in memory of
Dr. and Mrs. Hugo O. Pantzer, acc. no. 72.185



PLATE IV (NO. 11)

J. M. W. Turner
The Red Sea and Suez
1834-1835
watercolor on paper
140 x 203
Private Collection



PLATE V (NO. 13)

J. M. W. Turner
Babylon
1834
watercolor on paper
140 x 200
Victoria and Albert Museum, London,
acc. no. 982-1900



PLATE VI (NO. 16)

J. M. W. Turner
Nineveh, Mousoul on the Tigris
1834
watercolor on paper
140 x 202
Private Collection



PLATE VII (NO. 28)

J. M. W. Turner
Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives
1834
watercolor on paper
121 x 203
Gift of Mr. Alan Flacks, in honor of Meir Meyer,
The Israel Museum Collection, Jerusalem



PLATE VIII (NO. 39)

J. M. W. Turner
Jerusalem, Pool of Bethesda
1832-1834
watercolor on paper
140 x 200
Gift of Jan Krugier, Geneva, in memory of Miss Marguerite Bleuler, The Israel Museum Collection, Jerusalem



PLATE IX (NO. 42)

J. M. W. Turner
Jerusalem from the Latin Convent
1833
watercolor on paper
140 x 200
Private Collection



PLATE X (NO. 49)

J. M. W. Turner
Ramah with the Building Called Rachel's Tomb
1834
watercolor on paper
140 x 197
Blackburn Museums and Art Galleries



PLATE XI (NO. 53)

J. M. W. Turner
The Wilderness of Engedi and the Convent of Santa Saba
1834-1835
watercolor on paper
127 x 203
Private Collection



PLATE XII (NO. 57)

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1834
watercolor on paper
127 x 202
Private Collection



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J. M. W. Turner
Sinai's Thunder
1835
watercolor
235 x 184
Collection of the National Gallery of Scotland,
Mrs. M.D. Fergusson Bequest, 1988

CHAPTER ONE

THE SUBLIMITY OF NATURE: TRANSLATING BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS INTO PICTURES

Throughout his career, particularly upon each new phase, J. M. W. Turner repeatedly plumbed the Holy Scriptures. His biblical illustrations fall into two distinct categories: the "pure" landscape, closely dependent upon an outdoor sketch of a particular view, and the quasi-symbolic, even emblematic, visionary landscape, usually compiled from several tentative studio sketches and often inspired by traditional iconography and literary sources. These two aspects of Turner, his faithful rendering of natural scenes and his romantic dramatization of remote events, may appear to be diametrically opposed, but, in fact, they are the interrelated poles of a flexible personality that wishes to project nature from various perspectives.

To study either category of biblical landscape, we may now refer to the many sketchbooks that Turner left behind. His highly dramatized vision of the Bible derives both from his observations of nature (stormy seascapes or architectural ruins), and from his familiarity with the works of other artists, such as Raphael, Poussin and Rembrandt, who also dealt with these subjects.

Furthermore, after Turner first visited the Louvre in the early autumn of 1802, his work bifurcated into two forms: the historical and the sublime. With the first of his three earliest "historical pictures,"[1] he acquired "new character in his profession."[2] Between 1800 and 1802, Turner submitted to the Royal Academy Exhibition one example each year of his historical religious works, which "were then regarded as the highest branch of the painter's art, because they addressed what were supposed to be the noblest faculties of the mind."[3] In addition to their titles, *The Fifth Plague of Egypt* (no. 1, pl. I), *The Army of the Medes Destroyed in the Desert,* and *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*, Turner cited the original biblical sources for their themes. All the works related to catastrophic events recorded in the Old Testament, "wherein the laws of Nature were superseded by the wrath of Nature's God. The effect of the whole excites pity and terror in a high degree and is truly sublime."[4] Indeed, this group of large paintings, in which small and helpless figures populate a wide distant landscape before the fury of God's creation, points to the eighteenth-century aesthetic of the sublime, and the concept of fear as a pleasurable experience. As Edmund Burke says in his study on the origin of ideas of the sublime, "whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime,* that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling."[5]

These paintings may also share a literary source other than the Bible. As Ann Livermore points out in her studies of Turner and poetry, the poet James Thompson (1700-1748) mentions the plagues of Egypt, (as well as the prophet Jeremiah) in lines and explanatory notes to his poetry,[6] among which *The Seasons* especially influenced Turner's primary sources.[7]

Furthermore, Turner was infatuated with the style of landscape painter Richard Wilson (1713 - 1782), who not only brought historical and ideal landscapes to his attention,[8] but also impelled him to become more familiar with the work of Nicholas Poussin (1594 - 1665).[9] As early as 1798, Turner copied Poussin's *Exposure of Moses*[10] and *Landscape with* a *Snake*,[11] whose lesson clearly shows in the lingering planar organization of the masses of architecture in *The Fifth Plague of Egypt* (no. 1, pl. I), and, to a greater degree, in *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*. Referring to the latter painting, Jerrold Ziff says, "Even the more sublime details, for example, the bending trees, gesticulating figures and lightning flash in the upper left corner, recall Poussin."[12]

The impressions from nature that Turner inserted into the grander style of the old masters are, collectively, another essential component of his grand imaginative biblical inventions. A storm that Turner witnessed amid the mountains of North Wales, in Autumn 1799, will show up later as thunder and hail in, for example, the *Seventh Plague of Egypt*.[13] In some of the sketchbooks (e.g. *The Dolbadern Sketchbook)* he juxtaposes his realistic studies of nature with studies from historical landscapes of the old masters. The result is a lofty new conception of landscape.

In July 1802, Turner left London for the Continent. During his four-month tour, he made over four-hundred sketches.[14] In Paris, Turner apparently spent most of his time at the Louvre, studying and analyzing the old masters.[15] Although he carefully examined the work of the great Italian, French, Dutch and Flemish masters, he particularly strove to understand the means and methods by which to achieve artistic expression.

Above all, Turner tried to understand how each subject provoked another use of "historical coloring." The long note he attached to the copy of Titian's *Entombment* in the *Studies in the Louvre Sketchbook* explains:

> The Entombment may be ranked among the first of Titian's pictures as to color and pathos of effect for by casting a brilliant light on the Holy Mother and Martha and the first figure of Joseph (it seems that the figure of Nicodemus was mistaken for Joseph), the Body has a sepulchral effect. The expression of Joseph is fine as to the care he is undertaking, but without grandeur. His figure, which is clothed in striped drapery conveys the idea of silent distress, the one in vermilion attention, while the agony of Mary and the solicitude of Martha to prevent her grief and view of the dead body, with her own anguish by seeing, are admirably described; and though on the first view they appear but collateral figures, yet the whole is dependent upon them; they are the breadth and the expression of the picture. Mary is in blue which partakes of crimson tone, and by it unites with the bluer sky. Martha is in striped yellow and some streaks of red, which thus unites with the warm stream of light in the sky. Thus the Breadth is made by the three primitive colors breaking each other, and are connected by the figure in vermilion to the one in crimson striped drapery, which balances all the breadth of the left of the picture by its brilliancy. Thus the body of Jesus has the look of death without the affected leaden color often resorted unto... The drapery of the Body is the highest light or more properly the first that strikes the eye. Of great use it is, gives color to the dead body and breadth to the center.[16]

More than half the pictures that Turner studied in the Louvre portray biblical subjects, and, as we shall see, the biblical paintings that follow that first visit to Paris reflect his diligent research. The "simplicity" of the parts,[17] "the richness of color and the brilliancy in effect"[18] of the old masters' works showed him how to transform empirical observations of nature into a non-empirical supernatural content whose biblical-symbolical meaning is clear. Analyzing the works of Titian, Poussin, Rembrandt and Domenichino enhanced his responsiveness to the "shades of meaning and feeling"[19] that replaced his traditional mechanical realization, which demanded an equal finishing of all objects in the painting.

Turner was in his twenties when he was first drawn to biblical subjects. Among the early studies that remain in his sketchbooks as unrealized intentions, Exodus 7: 20, for example, describes the first plague to fall upon Egypt: "And Moses and Aaron did so as the Lord had commanded. Aaron raised his staff and struck the waters of the river, in full view of Pharaoh and his servants, and all the water of the river were changed into blood." The *Calais Pier Sketchbook* contains two studies, spread over two large, gray pages that clearly portray this event. The artist's handwriting identifies them as *The water turn'd to Blood.*[20]

The subjects of other early historical studies in Turner's bequest are more difficult to classify, but may belong to the same series of biblical ideas. For example, A.J. Finberg identifies the drawing on a rough scrap of paper as "possibly one of the Plagues of Egypt."[21] More recently, A. Wilton determined the same sketch to be *The Egyptian Host in the Red Sea.*[22] Some of Turner's early small oils on paper, like A *Wild Landscape, with Figures at Sunset,*[23] are also exercises in preparation for larger undertakings. The dramatic lighting of the sky and the wide-open imagined landscape recall, once again, *The Fifth Plague of Egypt* (no. 1, pl. I); the two figures in the foreground suggest the parable of the Good Samaritan, "for one, clothed, tends the other, who lies naked on the ground."[24]

About 1810, Turner was further occupied with biblical subjects that relate to larger themes, most of which, however, he merely mentions by title in his sketchbook. In the *Studies for Pictures; Isleworth Sketchbook* he suggests three scenes in the life of the patriarch Jacob: *Jacob and Esau, Jacob and Rachel* and *Laban Searching for his Images.*[25]

The Fifth Plague of Egypt (1800)

When Moses stretched out his staff toward the sky,
the Lord sent forth hail and peals of thunder.
Lightning flashed toward the earth, and the Lord rained
down hail upon the land of Egypt.

Exodus 9: 23

Turner included both the title and quotation from Exodus in the exhibition catalogue when he displayed *The Fifth Plague of Egypt* (no. 1, pl. I) at the Royal Academy in 1800. The plague that the painting depicts, however, is the seventh plague, that of hail and fire, and not the fifth, which is that of pestilence. Visible in the lower right corner is Moses who, only during the seventh plague (which Turner quotes), stretches toward heaven immediately before the onslaught of the hail and fire that destroyed the animals of Egypt. *The Fifth Plague of Egypt* was Turner's first treatment of an Old Testament scene, as well as his first painting in the Grand Manner influenced by two of the painters he most admired, Welsh landscape painter Richard Wilson (1714 - 1782) and French painter Nicholas Poussin (1594 - 1665). Turner may also have referred to an etching by Italian engraver and architect Giovanni Battista Piranesi's (c. 1720 - 1778), *The Pyramid of Caius Cestus* from the series *Views of Rome* (1755), particularly as he drew the pyramid.

Turner's sketchbooks contain several studies for this picture. *A Speaking Man* (fig. 1) in the *Studies for Pictures Sketchbook* may be the preliminary drawing for the figure of Moses; a study (fig. 2) from the *Dolbardarn Sketchbook* may contain the preliminary sketches for the dead horse and other figures.

Turner used landscape as an open stage for biblical scenes of death and destruction at several stages of his career. Two years after the completion of *The Fifth Plague of Egypt*, Turner exhibited another painting, identifying it as *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*, represented in this exhibition by an engraving (no. 4) and included in the *Liber Studiorum*.

Plate I, page 10



FIG. 1 J. M. W. Turner
A Speaking Man (Study of Moses for The Fifth Plague of Egypt)
Studies for Pictures Sketchbook
c. 1800
pen and ink with white chalk
Collection of the British Museum, London



FIG. 2 J. M. W. Turner
Study for The Fifth Plague of Egypt
Dolbardarn Sketchbook
c. 1800
pen and ink with white chalk
Collection of the British Museum, London



FIG. 3 J. M. W. Turner
The Fifth Plague of Egypt
c. 1807
sepia drawing
Collection of the British Museum, London

The Fifth Plague of Egypt (1808)

Between 1807 and 1819, J. M. W. Turner recorded drawings of his oil paintings and watercolors in a portfolio of etched outline and mezzotint engravings entitled *Liber Studiorum.* Turner conceived of this series as a visual treatise on the art of landscape painting, and imitated, both in title and medium, the set of two hundred prints by engraver Richard Earlom (1743 - 1822) after the drawings in *Liber Veritatis* (Boydell, 1777) by the French landscape painter Claude le Lorrain (1600 - 1682). Turner, himself, transferred most of the outlines of the designs onto the plates and etched the majority of them as well, occasionally using soft ground, before handing the plate over to the engraver. Arranged in categories—"historical," "mountainous," "pastoral," "marine," "architectural," and "e. p." (the latter most likely connoting "epic" or "elegant pastoral")—Turner meant for the one hundred engravings of his paintings and watercolors to be published primarily for study by other artists. Turner categorized the biblical landscapes in the *Liber Studiorum*, now displayed together in the present exhibition, as "historical."

Turner both drew and etched this mezzotint (no. 2) which was executed after the painting *The Fifth Plague of Egypt* (no. 1, pl. 1). He categorized it as an historical landscape for the *Liber Studiorum* (1808), in which it appeared in Part III. Turner prepared a monochrome drawing in pen and gray, brown and pink washes for this plate (fig. 3).



NO. 2

J. M. W. Turner
The Fifth Plague of Egypt (Liber Studiorum)
1808
etching and mezzotint, printed in brown ink
209 x 289
engraved by Charles Turner
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Rizpah Watches the Dead Bodies of Her Sons

And [the king] surrendered them to the Gibeonites. They then dismembered them on the mountain before the Lord. The seven fell at one time; they were put to death during the first days of the harvest - that is, at the beginning of the barley harvest. Then Rizpah, Aiah's daughter, took sackcloth and spread it out for herself on the rock from the beginning of the harvest until rain came down on them from the sky, fending off the birds of the sky from settling on them by day, and the wild animals by night.

Samuel 21: 9 - 10

In 1802, English artist John Opie (1761 - 1807) painted the biblical scene in which Rizpah watches the dead bodies of Saul's sons. Later that year, this picture was hung probably very near Turner's *Tenth Plaque of Egypt*, in the "historical section" of the Royal Academy exhibition. Many admired Opie's originality in undertaking the subject of Rizpah: "This excellent Academy member," said the *Morning Chronicle* reviewer on May 3, 1802, "should be highly commended for giving preference to his love for art rather than pursuing his tendency for practical painting... and although being generally admired for his portrait painting... for raising his painting to a higher level and making his canvas a source of moral feelings and classical taste." The painting and its critical acclaim must have attracted Turner to its moving story. Turner's engraved version (no. 3), which appears in the ninth part of the *Liber Studiorum* (engraving by R. Dunkarton after Turner's pen and sepia drawing, April 23, 1812), closely follows the biblical text. According to Walter Thornbury, "[I]t is one of the most excellent and imaginative scenes ever created. The skeleton-like dead bodies are well painted, and the mourning figure is worthy of a sculpture's attention. The moon shines upon the beginning of the barley harvest which, as the Bible tells us, was the time of Rizpah's ghostly vigil by the bodies."[26]

But, sometime between 1806 and 1808, Turner painted over the original oil painting of *Rizpah*. When we compare the drawing and the etching of *Rizpah* in the *Liber Studiorum* with the reworked oil painting, we find that Turner has added a few ghostly figures on the right and a woman behind Rizpah; he has also painted strange insects that carry off parts of other living creatures. Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll assume that the new scene might describe the meeting of Saul and the witch of Endor, when Samuel's ghost predicts the death of Saul and his sons.[27] The later version probably hung in the Turner Gallery in 1808 and was mentioned by John Landseer in the *Review of Publications of Art*: "At the moment, we shall not speak of the unfinished painting that hangs in the upper end of the room, the subject of which is taken from the rune myth, where the artist invokes mysterious ghosts and terrible chimeras."[28]



NO. 3

J. M. W. Turner
Rizpah Watches the Dead Bodies of Her Sons (Liber Studiorum)
1812
etching and mezzotint, printed in brown ink
210 x 293
engraved by Robert Dunkarton
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Tenth Plague of Egypt

At midnight they slew every first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh on the throne to the first-born of the prisoner in the dungeon, as well as all the first-born of the animals. Pharaoh arose in the night, he and all his servants and all the Egyptians; and there was loud wailing throughout Egypt, for there was not a house without its dead.

Exodus 12: 29 - 30

In February 1802, the year Turner was elected full member of the Royal Academy, he displayed five oil paintings and three watercolors at the annual exhibition. They were, according to A. Finberg, "the best group of works he had created by then."[29] *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*, however, surpassed even *Fisherman at Sea*[30] and *Ships Dropping Anchor*[31] in its appeal to the public and critics alike. Indeed, the critic of *St. James Chronicle* (May 18 - 20, 1802) wrote:

> *The Tenth Plague of Egypt* was the best painting in the present exhibition as regards grandeur of conception, harmony or, rather, non uniformity of the individual parts and the daring and masterly execution... [W]hat minor critics regard as his weaknesses are his main merits; going beyond the principal laws of perspective and harmony is the way by which an artist can describe such a terrible event, where the wrath of the Lord repeals the laws of nature. The overall effect arouses compassion and fear to the highest extent and is truly awe-inspiring.

Several notes in lanscape painter Joseph Farington's (1747 - 1821) diary from May-June 1802 pertain to *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*. On June 12, he writes: "Turner strives to uniqueness and grandeur, but does not possess the power to achieve his intention. His paintings are laudable, but lack the scientific knowledge and the academic truth of a Poussin when striving to the highest level of expression." On June 15, Farington quotes — and then contradicts — Robert Smirke's observation that "Turner's large painting, *The Plague in Egypt* [...] is an extraordinary piece of work." [32]

In *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*, Turner follows the tradition of ideal nature imitation. As seen in the engraving of 1816 (no. 4) made after the painting, lightning leads the eye deep through a systematic and clearly constructed series of strictly linear planes. The tiny figures of the tormented mothers, within the symbiotic relationship between the landscape and the orderly architecture confirm that landscape painter Richard Wilson's (1713? - 1782) example and, to an even greater degree, Turner's study of Poussin, inspired this magnificent fusion of biblical historical and landscape painting. In his learned article "Turner and Poussin," Ziff points out that, in *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*, the greater presence of architectural elements and the emphasis on the horizontal and vertical, shown by the buildings, clearly betray the style of Poussin. Even the fine details, such as the curved trees, the gesticulating figures and the flash of lightning in the upper left corner remind us of Poussin, especially *Pyramus and Thisbe*.[33]



NO. 4

J. M. W. Turner
The Tenth Plague of Egypt (Liber Studiorum)
1816
etching and mezzotint, printed in brown ink
210 x 290
engraved by William Say
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Christ and the Woman of Samaria

Jacob's well was there. Jesus, tired from his journey, sat down there at the well:
and it was about noon! A woman of Samaria came to draw water.
Jesus said to her, 'Give me a drink.'

John 4: 6 - 7

Christ and the Woman of Samaria (1819) was among the last of the seventy-one plates Turner published for the *Liber Studiorum*, which he began in 1807 and ended in 1819. Turner's artistic representation adheres exactly to the biblical text and specifically John 4. In the painting he describes a panoramic view of the landscape across the greater part of the canvas, and, in adherence to the custom of the late Renaissance, he shows Christ sitting under a shady tree and surrounded by classical ruins.[34] In the engraving (no. 5), however, we see a sitting Christ on the right, his finger pointing heavenward, speaking to a rural woman who holds a jug. In the distance, two figures approach the foreground. Returning from town, the disciples "were amazed that he [Jesus] was talking with a woman, but still no one said, 'What are you looking for?' or 'Why are you talking with her?'" (John 4: 27). On the left, Turner arranges the buildings to show the periphery of the Samarian town of Sychar. The geometric structure, the classical arches, and the interaction between vertical and horizontal lines recall quite strikingly the style of Poussin. His *Abandonment of Moses*, which Turner copied as early as 1798, shows similar architectural masses.[35]

The curved trees framing the wide-open sky of the present work could have been taken from Poussin's *Landscape with Snake*.[36] Comparing the preceding pen-sepia drawing and the perfect etching (no. 5), we see that the drawing was traced in reverse on the copper plate, and that Turner executed the etching himself. Although the etching is a nearly exact copy of the drawing, we, nevertheless observe what Finberg calls "a noticeable brightening up of all objects."[37] Finberg attributes

> [T]he change ... entirely ... to the execution. The contour line of the main object has lost its meaningless course. It is now backed by an intention. Its movement builds up the drawing everywhere as a whole, while it makes the parts more clear. The compelling nature of the whole can be perceived in every detail ... In the drawing, the scene was a painstakingly joined incomplete work of art, a collection of details became a total amount; in the etching, the subject as a whole is a real, living thing, which turns the artist's hand and all details into a relationship with itself.[38]



NO. 5 J. M. W. Turner
Christ and the Woman of Samaria (Liber Studiorum)
1819
etching and mezzotint, printed in brown ink
210 x 290
engraved by Samuel Reynolds
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

The Deluge

Meanwhile the south wind rose, and with black wings/ Wide hovering,
all the clouds together drove/ From under heav'n...the thick'n'd sky/
Like a dark ceiling stood; down rush'd the rain/ Impetuous,
and continu'd till the earth/ No more was seen...

Paradise Lost Book XI: 738 - 745

This mezzotint, entitled *The Deluge* (no. 6), belongs to the unpublished *Liber Studiorum* series. It is after the large oil painting of the same name exhibited in Turner's Gallery (1805) and at the Royal Academy (1813).

Turner used works of poetry and prose as sources of inspiration for *The Deluge*, including Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *The Seasons* by James Thomson (1700 - 1748)[39], and the Bible. However, Turner preferred Milton's representation of the bible story to either Thomson or the Bible itself, the most obvious explanation for which is his desire to recast the story of the Deluge in terms more readily acceptable to the intellectual and emotional sensibilities of his time. If, in the list of literary sources, the Bible was, among most of the Romantic artists, "yet first,"[40] Milton's *Paradise Lost* was the greatest poetical model and inspiration through which they perceived the biblical text, and against which they challenged their own work.[41]

The story of the Deluge is a major episode in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Milton writes that the Archangel Michael, sent in a vision to Adam and Eve to reveal God's plans for the future of mankind, unfolds before Adam, as well as the reader, the whole "scheme of salvation," as implied in Christian dogma. God granted the vision to Adam and Eve after their Fall as an acknowledgment of their repentance and prayer, the episode with which Milton closes Book X. The vision opens with the death of Abel and concludes with the Last Judgment—a natural finale to a book that constructs the entire spiritual history of mankind on a foundation of Christian faith.

In his work *The Seasons*, the Romantic poet James Thomson, Turner's other poetical source, uses the Deluge as a dominant image as well, imparting moral implications through descriptions of nature's contradictory beauty and destruction. Along with Campbell, Thomson's poetry was a crucial influence on the young Turner, especially in the artistic formulation of his imagery of nature. From their works, he also derived a poetical consciousness firmly rooted in the ideals of liberty and freedom, following the turbulent era of the American and French Revolutions.

His inclination to incorporate concepts from the works of contemporary poets into his own paintings calls attention to the appearance of the male black figure in the foreground of *The*

Deluge. In this *Liber Studiorum* mezzotint (no. 6), Turner chose to portray the violent climax of the storm. A tremendous wave threatens to crush a huddled group of victims on a hill. Despite the terror of the scene, the figure of the black man makes a courageous effort to support an unconscious woman in the raging torrents. Undoubtedly, Turner means to describe him as a heroic figure, although he is an element without a biblical reference in the Deluge story. Bearing in mind the influence of contemporary poetry on Turner, it is possible to interpret this figure as a comment on the vices of the nineteenth-century society within the framework of the biblical paradigm.

This interpretation would seem to be supported by Turner's belief that the slave-trade represented most clearly the evil and corruption of humanity.[42] At the time of his artistic activity, Turner was surrounded by calls for the abolition of slavery, the end of colonial oppression in Africa and India, and for European national liberations. In 1840, his painting *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying —Typhon Coming On* demonstrated the height of his indignation against the inhumanity of the slave-trade, by depicting a well-known incident on the ship *Zong* that had captured public attention in 1783. Seen in this light, *The Deluge* could be an earlier commentary on slavery as an emblem of social injustice and imbalance. Just as the biblical Deluge cleansed the earth of its corruption, allowing the chosen sons of God to regenerate or restore order, Turner would appear to say that nineteenth-century society deserves to be punished for its grievous abuses of humanity and freedom. Although Turner renders the figure of the black man as heroic in *The Deluge*, he also makes a reference to the equality of all the struggling figures, all doomed to be vanquished together by God's wrath.



NO. 6

J. M. W. Turner
The Deluge (*Liber Studiorum* [unpublished])
1828
etching and mezzotint
180 x 259
engraved by J. P. Quilley
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Evening of the Deluge

The morn put forth her sign of woe unheeded/
but disobedience slept; the dark'ning Deluge/closed around/
And the last token came: the giant framework/floated/
The roused birds forsook their nightly shelters/screaming/
And the beasts waded to the ark.
J. M.W. TURNER, *Fallacies of Hope*[44]

The painting *The Evening of the Deluge* (no. 7, pl. II) is probably an earlier version of *Shade and Darkness - The Evening of the Deluge*, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1843. Now, as part of Turner's Bequest, the later rendition hangs in the Tate Gallery (London) with its companion piece *Light and Colour (Geothe's Theory - The Morning After the Deluge - Moses Writing the Book of Genesis.*[43] Together, the paintings depict the contrast between the biblical events that occurred before and after the Deluge.

In the *Deluge* pair, Turner raises to a sublime level, once again, the opposing attitudes that ran parallel throughout his life. The portent of *The Evening of the Deluge* reflects his pessimistic belief that humanity was doomed by its inner weakness; *The Morning After the Deluge* reaffirms, with equal conviction, his belief in man's ability to be reborn through the creative process.

Turner's observations of nature are recognizable as records not only of an inwardly symbolic scene, but also of an outward experience that left its impression on the artist. In the years before exhibiting the *Deluge* pair, Turner exhibited a seascape, that was no less extreme in its overall composition and was imbued with the same powerful freedom. He entitled it *Snow-Storm - Steam Boat off a Harbour's Mouth making Signals in Shallow water, and going by the Lead. The Author was in this Storm on the Night the Ariel left Harwich* (1842). "I wished," explained Turner to Rev. Mr. Kingsley, "to show what such a scene was like. I got the sailors to lash me to the mast to observe it; I was lashed for four hours, and I did not expect to escape, but I felt bound to record it if I did."[44] Just as Turner used his observations of shipwrecks and storms in the *Deluge* pair, so does he use his experiences with nature in *The Evening of the Deluge*; but, at this advanced stage of his life, the relationship between his observations and the process of applying them to the canvas becomes much more abstract and metaphysical. These late works evidence characteristics similar to those Hazlitt discusses in the critical article "Pictures of Nothing and Very Like" (1816). He describes Turner's work as "representations not properly of the objects of nature as of the medium through which they were seen"[45]

Plate II, page 11

CHAPTER TWO

Views of the Holy Land: The Perception of Nature as a Step Towards the Sublime

"*When Painting, art toils after truth in vain.*"
J. M.W. TURNER

Turner had already collaborated with William Finden, his brother, Edward Francis Finden,[1] and John Murray on a large series of designs for Byron's *Life and Works*[2] when he accepted their commission for *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible*. These works, first issued in parts, were compiled into two volumes and published, in 1836 as *The Biblical Keepsake or Landscape, illustrations of the most remarkable places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures*. The same publisher, John Murray, reissued the set under the title *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible consisting of views of the most remarkable places mentioned in the Old and New Testament from original sketches taken on the spot*. As the introduction explains, "While other works of comparatively small value have employed the pencils of the first artists, and have received every sort of embellishment, little, comparatively, has been done towards illustrating the most important of all books—the *Holy Scriptures*. To supply deficiency is the design of the present collection of Landscape Illustrations, in which are exhibited...places mentioned in the Bible, as they actually exist, and very few of which have hitherto been delineated."[3]

Murray and the Finden brothers knew well that contemporaneous guidebooks and publications of the "wanderings" and "annual tours" that flourished in the nineteenth century neglected the Holy Land. In the urbane, Augustan eighteenth century, the European Grand Tour ended in Italy, where travelers satisfied their cravings for classical art and literature.[4] As the turn of the century drew near, however, the changing of times and of passions drove travelers to other Mediterranean ports, to the Holy Land and the Middle East. Thus, guidebook publishers, too, had to extend their horizons. "If Troy and Thebes: If Athens and Rome are visited with classic enthusiasm," the publishers point out in their introduction to Finden's Bible, "how much more worthy of awakening the strongest emotions in the mind of a Christian must be the country whose history as far transcends in interest that of every other as its literature (if we may apply that term to the divine volume) excels in sublimity all the ethics, and philosophy, and poetry and eloquence of the heathen world."[5]

Never having visited the Holy Land or any Middle Eastern country, the illustrators who brought the biblical landscapes up to date drew from the extensive archive of research accumulated on the spot by more venturesome travelers, such as the architect Sir Charles Barry (1795 - 1860). Indeed, the final work provided the reader with the latest views from the field and the most recent

information available. To capture a precise view of a place as remote as Nineveh, for example, Turner consulted a sketch by Claudius James Rich that was published in 1836 (no. 15) in the book *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh, with Journal of a Voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad, and an Account of a visit to Shirauz and Persepolis.*[6]

In addition, pious pilgrims, such as the Reverend Robert Master or Reverend F. Arundell,[7] army officers such as Major Felix or Captain Fitzmaurice, who served in the area,[8] and architects such as C. R. Cockerell, a renowned classical archaeologist,[9] augmented the information that professional travelers provided. Sir Charles Barry drew many such sketches during his comprehensive Grand Tour of 1817 - 1820. At the age of twenty-two, Barry traveled from England, planning to tour France and Italy alone, and then to visit Greece and Turkey with Charles Eastlake and W. Kinnaird, who were collecting material for a supplementary volume of *The Antiquity of Athens*. In August 1818, while preparing to return home from Athens, he met David Baillie. An archaeological traveler from Cambridge, Baillie offered to take Barry to Egypt, the Holy Land and Syria, and to pay him two-hundred pounds sterling a year for his drawings of the architecture and scenery they encountered. Although Baillie was to retain all original sketches made on the spot, Barry made copies for himself, which later became the Finden brothers' primary source for their *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible*. The publishers selected twenty-five views from Barry's large collection to be added to seventy-five sketches taken by nearly thirty other travelers. Eleven more London artists elaborated the on-site sketches for the final engravings.[10]

Ruskin describes the process by which the sketches were distributed. "Turner told me," mentions Ruskin in the notes to his collection, "that he and Callcott had a certain number of Bible sketches to realize between them: they agreed to pick them alternately, drawing lots for first choice. Callcott won the choice and selected at once a sketch of Ararat; the sketch of the *Pools of Solomon* [no. 47] was left to the last, and Turner said he kept it on his breakfast table for a month before he could make up his mind how to treat it."[11] Whenever he could, Turner chose those sketches that presented open panoramas. Moreover, of the twenty-six designs he prepared for Finden's Bible, fourteen were after Sir Charles Barry. He picked six of Barry's sketches of Jerusalem: *Mount Moriah* (no. 31); *Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives; Jerusalem with the Walls; Jerusalem, Pool of Bethesda* (no. 37, 38); *Valley of the Brook of Kidron* (no. 34); *Jerusalem from the Latin Convent* (no. 41). Turner passed over the more architectural sketches, those portraying particular buildings, such as the *House of the Governor of Jerusalem* and *The Exterior View of the Holy Sepulchre* (ultimately drawn by Roberts and C. Stanfield, respectively).

As mentioned earlier, Turner's identification with Scriptural subjects predated his interest in the topographical setting of the Holy Land. Long before becoming familiar with any on-the-spot records, like Barry's sketch of the *Pyramids of Ghizah* (no. 8), Turner had completed his own imaginative views of *The Fifth Plague of Egypt* (1800) (no. 2).[12] Similarly, the landscapes in paintings like *The Destruction of Sodom* (1805) or *Rizpah Watching the Bodies of her Sons* (c. 1808)[13] were largely illusory. As Ruskin had pointed out earlier, "There is nothing particularly indicative of Palestine in the *Barley Harvest of Rizpah*, not in those round and awful trees; only the solemnity of the south in the lifting of the near burning moon."[14]

In the early 1830s, when Turner was once again occupied with biblical subjects, he depicted events that took place in Jerusalem: *Pilate Washing his Hands* (1830)[15] and the unfinished *Christ Driving the Traders from the Temple* (c. 1832).[16] In a third biblical work, he imagines Babylon, showing Shadrach, Meshech

and Abednego in the *Burning Fiery Furnace* (1832).[17] Groups of figures dominate this series of paintings; their backgrounds are limited to a few abstract hints of architectural interiors. Furthermore, his technique in these paintings differs completely from that of the landscape paintings of those years.[18] John Gage suggests that "Turner in his maturity was still concerned to rise to the solemnity of Rembrandt's religious [paintings]."[19] The landscapes, which became more and more abstract—and, thus, more and more ambiguous—succumbed to his renewed interest in figures, which drew their pathos and playful commentary from an essentially Baroque symbolic imagery. An enthusiastic critic wrote regarding *Pilate Washing his Hands,*

> [T]he grandeur of idea, the power of invention, the awfully sublime effect on the mind, cannot receive too much praise. The more chaotic mass, the infuriated multitude that shouted 'Let him be crucified!' like an agitated sea undulates before us; we all but hear the Babel-like din of many voices; and by the distance at which is seen the figure of Pilate, with expanded arms, how admirably is given the idea of space. Like Rembrandt, by the mere power of light and shade, and harmonious coloring, Turner can rouse the sublimest reeling of our mind...[20]

The quality of Turner's large, crowded biblical compositions reached its zenith when the artist accepted Edward and William Finden's commission for the Bible series in 1833. The bond Turner forged between the Scriptures and his observations of nature provided an incentive for what Ruskin would later define as the "best works in his latest manner."[21] His dependence on the sketches of minor artists notwithstanding, Turner, now in his late fifties and professionally established, eagerly accepted the Finden assignment. He had already fulfilled commissions for a large series of watercolors for engravings based on sketches by other artists, including eighteen completed between 1818 and 1820, after J. Hakewill's camera-obscura pencil sketches for *Picturesque Tour In Italy.*[22] While working on Finden's Bible, he also drew many second-hand views of Greece and the Middle East for *Byron's Life and Works.*[23] He probed others' works less for their topographical precision than for an independently metaphorical role the landscape might assume. He used the provided sketch to stimulate his interrelated references, which combined his own memory and experience with the sources of other artists. Turner's aim, therefore, was dictated by that special and complex parrying between fact and "fiction," between the *in prasentia* and the *in absentia.*

What Turner added to the on-the-spot sketches was his knowledge of nature—nature as he had experienced and observed it. "Of one thing I am certain," proclaimed Ruskin, "Turner never drew anything that could be seen without having seen it. That is to say, though he would draw Jerusalem from someone else's sketch, it would be, nevertheless, entirely from his own experience of ruined walls."[24] Applying his personal biblical associations to his interpretations of the other artists' sketches, Turner would weave into his own pictorial language the memory-impressions of many years' study.

Some of the landscapes manifest a more literary iconography. For example, in the drawing of *Bethlehem* (no. 46), Turner introduces a star above the Church of a Nativity, and in the lower left corner of the drawing of *Mount Sinai* (no. 20), he shows the tables of the Covenant. To add meaning to an on-site sketch, discussing the depiction of ritual, he told the Reverend William Kingsley, "that the publishers thought he [Turner] was mad, and required him to put nothing into the drawings beyond what might actually be there; but he had in his hand the sketch of Rachel's Tomb, and asked whether he might put wolves into

it. He said to me perhaps you have found wolves in others.' He also said he had leave to do what he liked with the encampment in Sinai, and that he made it and the Lebanon to represent the Law and the Gospel."[25]

Lebanon (no. 63) and *Sinai* are from sketches by Sir Charles Barry (no. 62) and Gally Knight, respectively. Turner translated both according to his poetic vision. Ruskin, who donated *Lebanon* to Oxford, writes that Turner

> [T]ook the Sinai and Lebanon to show the opposite influences of the Law and the Gospel. The rock of Moses is shown in the burning of the desert among the fallen stones, forked lightning cleaving the blue mist which veils the summit of Sinai. Armed Arabs pause at the foot of the rock. No human habitation is seen, nor any herb or tree, nor any brook, and the lighting strikes without rain. Over the Mount Lebanon an intensely soft gray-blue sky is melting into dewy rain. Every ravine is filled, every promontory crowned, by tenderest foliage, golden in slanting sunshine. The white convent nestles into the hollow of the rock; and a little brook runs under the shadow of the nearer trees, beside which two monks sit reading.[26]

Ruskin further explains Turner's addition (no. 66) of a group of tentmakers to the foreground of Cockerell's sketch of Corinth as a biblical reference to St. Paul's trade.[27] At the same time, Ruskin cannot deny that these figures settle Turner's composition: "You will dislike them at first, but if they were not here, you would have felt the white houses a painful interruption to the Acropolis —as if they are a reposeful space of light. The square oar in front is to repeat and conquer their squareness; the little triangular flag, to join them with the Acropolis slopes, and their divided masses to echo its duplicity."[28]

Certainly iconography influenced Turner, but what motivated him most as he adapted the works of others were the natural effects he retained in his memory and imagination. His deft use of light, modified by the circumstances of hour, weather and objects, enriches and intensifies his watercolors in vivid contrasts to the source sketches.[29] If Turner gives us *Corinth* (no. 66), hot and cloudless at midday, he then evokes the *Pools of Solomon* (no. 48), much later, nearing sunset, under tumultuous spreads of illuminated clouds. The direction of light also changes completely in these two watercolors. In *Corinth*, it is partly lateral and originates behind the spectator; in the *Pools of Solomon*, sunlight appears from above and focuses on the front. The effect of light changes completely in *The Wilderness of Engedi* (no. 18) and *Assos* (no. 70), for which Turner captures the moment at which the sun has just set, a full moon sets off a storm-clouded sky. Brilliant twilight illuminates many of his pictures. Twilight was a "favorite moment of Turner's, and he invariably characterizes it," as Ruskin points out, "not by gloom, but by uncertainty of detail." The critic had "never seen the effect of clear twilight thoroughly rendered by art; that effect in which all details are lost, while intense clearness and light are still felt in the atmosphere, in which nothing is distinctly seen; and yet it is not darkness, far less mist, that is the cause of concealment."[30]

Barry's sketch of the *Pools of Solomon* (no. 47) indicates a clear sky. The cloud formations in the painting, then, are the products of Turner's imagination. Ruskin continues:

> Show me a single picture, in the whole compass of ancient art, in which I can pass from cloud to cloud, from region to region, from first to second and third heaven, as I can here, and you may talk of Turner's want of truth. Turn to the *Pools of Solomon* and walk

> through the passages of mist as they melt on the one hand into those stormy fragments of fiery cloud, or on the other into the cold solitary shadows that compass the sweeping hill; and when you find an inch without air and transparency, and a hair's breadth without changefulness and thought; and when you can count the torn waves of tossing radiance that gush from the sun, as you can count the fixed, white, insipidities of Claude, or when you can measure the modulation and the depth of that hollow mist, as you can the flourishes of the brush upon the canvas of Salvator, talk to Turner's want of truth![31]

Ruskin was so taken with Turner's treatment of the sky in *Pools of Solomon* that, in his last volume of *Modern Painters*, he makes it an exemplar for his careful study of Turner's sky perspective. Ruskin devised a series of complex diagrams and a woodcut to demonstrate Turner's concentric circles of clouds.[32] The treatment of the skies in the watercolor *Babylon* (no. 13, pl. V) and its expression of the inexhaustible living energy on which the universe thrives, however, best illustrates the artist's perfect truths. Ruskin's description is elaborate, but worth presenting in full:

> Ten miles away, down the Euphrates, where it gleams last along the plain, he gives us a drift of dark elongated vapor, melting beneath into a dim haze which embraces the hills on the horizon. It is exhausted with its own motion, and broken up by the wind in its own mass into numberless groups of billowy and tossing fragments which, beaten by the weight of storm down to the earth, and just lifting themselves again on wearied wings and perishing in the effort. Above these, and far beyond them, the eye goes back to a broad sea of white illuminated mist, or rather cloud melted into rain, and absorbed again before that rain has fallen, but penetrated throughout, whether it be vapor or whether it be dew, with soft sunshine, turning it as white as snow. Gradually, as it rises, the rainy fusion ceases. You cannot tell where the film of blue on the left begins, but is deepening, deepening still; and the cloud, with its edge first invisible, then all but imaginary, then just felt when the eye is not fixed on it, and lost when it is, at last rises, keen from excessive distance, but soft and mantling in its body as a swan's bosom fretted by faint wind; heaving fitfully against the delicate deep blue, with white waves, whose form are traced by the pale lines of opalescent shadow, shade only the light is within it, and not upon it, and which break with their own swiftness into a driven line of level spray, winnowed into threads by the wind and flung before the following vapor like those swift shafts of arrowy water which a great cataract shoots into the air beside it, trying to find the earth. Beyond these again, rises a colossal mountain of gray cumulus, through whose shadowed sides the sunbeams penetrate in dim, sloping, rain-like shafts; and over which they fall in a board burst of streaming light, sinking to the earth, and showing through their own visible radiance the three successive ranges of hills which connect its desolate plain with space. Above, the edgy summit of the cumulus, broken into fragments, recedes into the sky, which is peopled in its serenity with quiet multitudes of the white, soft, silent cirrus; and, under these, again, drift near the zenith disturbed and impatient shadows of a darker spirit, seeking rest and finding rest and finding none.[33]

Turner never reached the Holy Land ("[H]is time for *that* pilgrimage is perhaps to come," wrote Ruskin years after the artist's death),[34] but he heard the echoes of his admirers who had. In April 1841, Sir David Wilkie wrote to Sir Thomas Phillips from Jerusalem, "I thought of him [Turner] when I passed the ancient city of Jericho, though then, from the ravages of the retreating army, a smoking ruin. I can fancy what our friend would make of this and the Vale of Jordan, and the Dead Sea, the Wilderness of the Temptation and, above all, the Mount of Olives, Mount of Ascension, with all the mystery associated with it..."[35]

Sir Charles Barry's Route and Early Nineteenth Century Maps of the Holy Land

The order of the exhibition and, therefore, the sequence of the illustrations in the catalogue, traces the itinerary route most popular among travelers to the Holy Land in the early part of the nineteenth century. Indeed, this was the route Sir Charles Barry probably followed. His voyage would have begun at the port of Suez (nos. 11, 12, pl. IV), the easiest point of entry to the continent from the Mediterranean. Pilgrims also entered, but less often, at Jaffa (nos. 21 - 23), which was closer to Jerusalem, but less convenient, and from the north at Sidon (no. 61), which, at that time, had grown shabby from neglect. Turner, with his fondness for seascapes, painted all three ports.

From Suez, visitors could either head north to Babylon (nos. 13, 14, pl. V) and Nineveh (nos. 15 - 17, pl. VI), ancestral homes of the Hebrews, or to the Sinai desert (nos. 18 - 20). The route along the southern shores of the Eastern Mediterranean took them to Jaffa, and from there, due east to Jerusalem (nos. 24 - 44, pls. VII, VIII, IX). Touring Jerusalem, they favored Bethlehem (nos. 45, 46) the Pools of Solomon (nos. 47, 48) and Rama (nos. 49, 50, pl. X). From there, travelers made their way to the Dead Sea, visited Engedi and Jericho (nos. 51 - 58, pls. XI, XII), and could be baptized in the Jordan River. Via Nazareth (nos. 59, 60), they continued on to Sidon (no. 61), then toward Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus and the borders of Greece (nos. 62 - 70). This course evolved as cartographers surveyed and mapped the southern and eastern lands of the Mediterranean basin. These activities directly contributed to the development of the Great Powers and the deepening of their interest in the Near East.[36]

Pilgrimages to Palestine entailed great effort and real risk. Researchers strode its length and breadth, and investigated the specific natures and special features of all its regions. They were also attuned to its religious significance, however, and paid attention, above all, to archeological findings and biblical geography. Nonetheless, they knew very well that the clarification of the physical background was essential to their missions.

Explorers only rarely realized their wishes to locate biblical sites using precise astronomical measurement. They selected and followed their itineraries carefully, compasses in hand, sketching and describing each detail. Their attempt to measure distances, according to the time required to cover them, courted inaccuracy at best. Those who could ambitiously sketched their observations, but their collective passion for archeology often distracted them. They searched for ruins, often identifying ancient settlements; they discovered inscriptions in ancient languages, which they tried to transcribe. Nonetheless, they were also interested, perhaps to an ever greater extent, in the present and in the reality they encountered. Many of their *geographiae sanctae*, enlightening and often entertaining accounts of their travels, were published as journals. Even modern geographers find them to be a hidden treasure house of information and a reliable foundation for the reconstruction of the country's cultural landscape during its period of total decline.

In the eighteenth century, Richard Pococke, Carsten Neibuhr and C. F. C. Volney pioneered cartographic research into the Holy Land. However, the sphere of topographic and geographic knowledge and understanding expanded more significantly in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. Indeed, the first large-scale, truly topographic map of the Land of Israel was drafted during one of Napoleon's earliest campaigns, his 1798 expedition to Egypt. Hastily prepared en route, it suffers in comparison to similar contemporaneous maps of the European countries. In 1810, under the supervision of officer Jaquotin, the French corps of the military geographic engineers published a collection of forty-seven maps based on azimuth surveys. Most pertain to lower Egypt, only six to the Land of Israel. The accompanying text admits to its shortcomings, including the superficiality of its measurements. Indeed, later research reveals that most of its data, gathered from local residents, were imaginary and totally devoid of fact.

Nevertheless, Jaquotin's work remained for forty years the most reliable cartographic description of the Land of Israel. In the early 1800s, there followed through the Middle East a procession of skilled mapmakers, each improving or refining the work of his predecessor. Among these, Heinrich Karl Wilhelm Berghaus published, in his 1835 atlas, perhaps one of the most beautiful cartographic documents known thus far in the nineteenth century. Berghaus aspired to precision and to the indication of details to reflect the reality of the time. He also indicates the administrative units and delineates caravan routes. Yet, Berghaus fills in, with unsubstantiated details gleaned from questionable sources, areas that he has explored only minimally, if at all. He was, however, the first to append to his maps a memoir, a meticulous report of his data and the cartographic process. Ever after, such memoirs accompanied all serious maps of the Land of Israel.

Even with advanced techniques and technologies, the tradition of drawing unscientific reconnaissance maps to illustrate Scripture, lived under the category of historical maps. A typical example is Assheton's *Historical Map of Palestine*, first published in 1822. It establishes the locations of the Ten Tribes of Israel, and is noteworthy for its strange mix of color and modern stylistic elements. In a quintessentially nineteenth-century manner, it identifies major settlements by decorative drawings, and minor ones, by small towers. Some mountains are indicated only to emphasize the setting of a town or biblical event (the prophet Elijah on Mt. Carmel, for example). Next to each illustration, Assheton provides the biblical chapter and verse. We see battles between groups of men armed with spears, the siege of Jericho, Samson bearing the gates of Gaza on his shoulders, tent encampments, Absalom hanging by his hair from a branch of a tree, Jesus walking on the Sea of Galilee—in short, only sites connected to an event appear on this map.

Edward Robinson broke new ground in the geographical study of Palestine. His famous volume, *Biblical Researches* (1838), was long known as a compendium of new and accurate knowledge about the Land of Israel. The famous German mapmaker Heinrich Kipert drew the cartographic expression of the results of his studies that are appended to the book.

The most worthy achievement of this work—and its novelty —from the cartographic point of view, derives from the improved security in Palestine. Unlike his predecessors, Robinson could travel off the beaten path. He was accompanied by the missionary Eli Smith, who spoke Arabic. Smith listed their destinations, and saw to it that the place-names were correctly transcribed.

Robinson noted sequentially on a large strip map their routes and their observations in detail. He demonstrated extraordinary powers of observation, even of the morphological lines

of the landscape, to which he paid more than the cursory attention most tourists afforded them, tourists who, even though they were impressed by the grandeur of the backdrop, would describe it only in the vaguest terms or give undue emphasis to unimportant details. In contrast, Robinson devoted a volume to the morphological structures and their causes, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land,* which was published posthumously only in 1865.

In Palestine, Robinson referred to Jaquotin's and Berghaus's maps, but quickly found them hopelessly inaccurate. Thus, the maps drawn to record Robinson's travels were universally received as a turning point in the cartography of Palestine with respect to their contents, if not to their cartographic style. Especially helpful to future mapmakers was Robinson's system of using features of the landscape to help locate and verify biblical sites.

In this summary of the new age of geographic research in the Middle East, one aspect deserves particular attention. The mapmakers discussed above lifted from the object of their research, the Holy Land, the halo of timelessness it had worn for centuries. They no longer related to only one time period, that of the establishment of the great religions. No longer was the Holy Land considered to be unique topographically and geographically, or to be qualitatively different from all other lands. Scholars finally acknowledged that they knew very little about Palestine, particularly natural phenomena. Indeed by 1835, researchers had established coordinates for no more than ten settlements, and only first determined altitude (by measuring the temperature of boiling water) in the 1830s.

As the nineteenth century waned, Palestine, like Egypt, had stirred public fascination the world over. These reports of cartographers and geologists kept the curious informed. Access to, and mobility within, the region improved and visitors came with fewer stereotypical expectations than in previous centuries. They saw Palestine as an unknown territory where the distant past filtered through the veil of the present. They felt obliged to discover the existing reality, and consciously, perhaps, pursued it completely differently than the earlier pilgrims had. They acquired certain skills of the naturalist, the geographer and the cartographer; and no matter how cardinal their interests in biblical geography, they had no doubts that familiarity with the physical geographical and topographical realities was a precondition for understanding the past. They went beyond merely determining the vast difference between the Land of Israel in biblical times and the land of Israel in its nineteenth century decline; they also demonstrated, even indirectly through the descriptions of their encounters, the circumstances of the fall and, frequently, the reasons for it.

These nineteenth-century explorers devoted a great deal of space in their records to these descriptions, for the Land of Israel, apart from its value as the backdrop for biblical events, exerted another lure. Exotic and picturesque in its Arab garb, romantic in the vestiges of a glorious past, Palestine enchanted nineteenth century Europeans. Especially earlier in the century, explorers in the Holy Land often faced real dangers and conducted their travels clandestinely, sometimes even in disguise, so as not to arouse suspicions. Anyone who browses through the descriptions of the voyages of the earliest explorers and the accompanying prints of copper or steel engravings will quickly realize how exquisitely suited the country was to the outlook of the explorers and their generation. These attitudes found expression in the great quantity of Arabic place names, an abundance which reveals the new appreciation of a factual approach and the explorer's eyewitness accounts.

The publication by the Finden brothers of Turner's engravings, in 1835, coincided with the publication, in London, of one of the most beautiful updated maps of the Holy Land: *Seaton's*

Map of Palestine, or the Holy Land, with Parts of Egypt by the engraver Josiah Neele, (no. 78, pl. XIV) . This map affords the opportunity to view the route Sir Charles Barry followed and the engraving also maps the distribution of the twelve Tribes of Israel. The general atmosphere is emphasized and strengthened by means of the illustration in the upper left-hand corner of the map which depicts Jesus and the Samarian woman, a subject to which Turner devoted an engraving in the *Liber Studiorum.*



NO. 78 *Seaton's Map of Palestine, or the Holy Land with Parts of Egypt*
1836
engraving
850 x 990
published by Josiah Neele
Haifa Museum of Art, Israel

EGYPT WITH THE VIEW OF THE PYRAMIDS OF GHIZAH

Son of man, utter a lament over Pharaoh, the King of Egypt, saying to him: lion of the nations, you are destroyed, you were like a monster in the sea, spouting in your streams, stirring the waters with your feet and churning its streams.

EZEKIEL 32: 2

The pyramids, those most extraordinary monuments of Egyptian power and industry, still rouse the wonder and admiration of the world. As seen in this drawing (no. 8), the architectural magnificence of the Pyramids inspired Barry. His travel journals recorded and described them in great detail.[37] Although Turner relied heavily on Barry's sketches to complete each view of the pyramids of Ghizah (variously written "Geezah"), Turner adds a fourth pyramid to both the watercolor and the engraving (nos. 9, 10, pl. III). Turner also positions his viewer closer to the imposing pyramids, unlike Barry, who, perhaps drawing from a great distance, describes a flat and boundless desert that diminishes their magnitude. Perhaps Turner adds the Arabs and camels in the foreground for comparative elevation as well.

PLATE III, PAGE [illegible]2



NO. 8 Sir Charles Barry
Pyramids of Ghizah (Album IV: Egypt and Nubia)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
121 X 336
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 10

J. M. W. Turner
Egypt with the View of the Pyramids of Ghizah
1836
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
178 x 253
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Red Sea and Suez

Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord swept the sea with a strong east wind throughout the night, and so turned it into dry land.

Exodus 14: 21

Both this watercolor (no. 11, pl. IV) and engraving (no. 12) show the busy port city of Suez, at the northern point of the Red Sea on what is said to have been the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. The port of Suez occupied a crucial position in the region long before the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, running north to south and linking the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. Until the eighteenth century, Suez was a significant naval port and commercial center under the Ottoman Turks. As early as the twentieth century B.C., a canal built by Egyptian kings existed in the area, running from west to east, connecting the Nile to the Red Sea. This early canal was repeatedly modified, destroyed and rebuilt until it was finally closed in the eighth century A.D.

Turner offers a subtle reference to the port's historical past in the form of the row of half-submerged stones on the left, possibly the remains of an ancient pier. By juxtaposing the active shipbuilding scenes in the foreground with this ruin in the water, Turner refers to the rich historical backdrop against which all his images of the Holy Land play, something that would have interested viewers in nineteenth-century Europe. For them, the biblical significance of the Red Sea was clear, and a view of the contemporary port of Suez on its shores would have brought them closer to the ancient region. The type of vessel represented is called a *dao*, peculiar to the Red Sea, and is related to prototypes mentioned variously in the Bible.

The Red Sea extends from the mountains of Sinai to the west, the mountains of Edom to the east, and the Midian to the south. The ancient Hebrews called it the Sea of Edom and, as *edom* means "red" in Hebrew, it was translated literally by the Greeks into the Red Sea. It is the body water said to have been parted by Moses for the Israelites as they fled Egypt. Plate IV, page 13



NO. 12

J. M. W. Turner
The Red Sea and Suez
1835
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
176 x 250
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

Babylon

Babylon shall become a heap of ruins, a haunt of Jackals;
a place of horror and ridicule, where no one lives.

Jeremiah 51: 37

At the center of the foremost hill of this watercolor (no. 13, pl. V), a lone figure sits with its back to the observer and its face toward the open landscape. This figure, added by Turner, epitomizing the full significance of the Romantic traveler, holds a sheet of paper in his hand and appears to be transferring what his eyes behold to a visual or textual image that becomes an integral part of him. His frequent insertion of the figure of the artist at work within the landscape reveals how Turner sees himself at work as an artist within his own pictures. In this example, the figure is most assuredly of equal importance to the panoramic landscape itself.

At the crest of the Hill of Amran, several groups, perhaps oriental guides and guards and European travelers, gather. One visitor, in the center, seems to be reading. The crumbling bricks and walls in the immediate foreground may be the remains of the mausoleum of the prophet for whom the hill is named. From this summit, we notice many irregular mounds and hillocks, only a part of the relics of ancient Babylon. Turner portrays a deserted, dry landscape devoid even of scrub, acknowledging the ancient biblical prophecy that "Babylon shall become heaps...it shall never be inhabited" (Isaiah 13: 20 - 21). Only the Euphrates meandering to the left, relieves the eye from such desolation and contrasts sharply with the pillar of dust, on the extreme right. In the center, an oblong mass of ruin called *Mujelibe*, "overturned" in Arabic, dominates a gloomy plane. Scudding clouds in an expansive skyscape add to the bleakness of the scene. Plate VI, page 15



NO. 14

J. M. W. Turner
Babylon
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 258
engraved by J. Cousen
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Nineveh, Mousoul on the Tigris

Till everyone who sees you runs from you, saying, 'Nineveh is destroyed; who can pity her? Where can one find any to console her?'

Nahum 3: 7

Turner gives a picturesque view of Nineveh (no. 16, pl. VI), from a higher perspective than that originally recorded in a drawing by Claudius James Rich in 1836 (no. 15). In the left foreground of the watercolor, we see a row of men, some on horseback, some on camelback, and others on foot. At center-right, three men gather, and at far right, a solitary silhouetted figure stands at the edge of the high rocky ridge. Below the ridge, two small figures wind around a walled mosque that sits isolated above the Tigris. Across the river, on a gently sloping hill, is the town of Mousoul. Both the isolated hill on the near bank of the Tigris and the bleak ridges on the far bank—where we see a section of wall, some ruins, and, on the central ridge, what seems to be a fort—are thought to be the site of ancient Nineveh, which, according to prophecy, like Babylon, was to "become a desolation" (Zephaniah 11: 13, 15). In the distance, behind the town and the ridges to its right, a series of hills rises in parallel rows. The interplay of dark, churning clouds and bright shafts of sunlight illuminate the entire scene.

Plate VI, page 15



NO. 15 Claudius James Rich
Nineveh
Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh, with Journal of a Voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad and an account of a visit Shiraz and Persepolis
1836
engraving
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv



NO. 17

J. M. W. Turner
Nineveh, Mousoul on the Tigris
c. 1835
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 255
engraved by W. Radcliff
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

The Wilderness of Sinai

Who guided you throughout the vast and terrible desert with its saraph serpents and scorpions; its parched and waterless ground; who brought forth water for you from flinty rock.

Deuteronomy 8: 15

In this engraving (no. 18), Turner enriches the primeval landscape of Sinai with a Western traveler and his local Bedouin guides. His clothing, hat, weapon and equipment contrast with the dress and customs of the villagers. Turner adds narrative value as well as Romantic drama (the encounter with the "other") by populating the landscape with human figures.

Here, Turner represents Mount Sinai and the plain of Rephidim, where Moses gave the decalogue to the Jews (Exodus 19: 20). The large, single rock in the foreground once may have been a cliff of the mountain. The Arabs call the rock "the Stone of Moses" or *Meribah*, Hebrew for "dispute." According to the Old Testament, Moses struck the rock and, miraculously water gushed forth to supply the thirsty Israelites (Exodus 13: 1 - 7, Numbers 20: 7 - 11). The flow has etched a channel in the rock, the face of which bears a column of four or five fissures. Thus, the psalmist says, "He cleft the rocks in the desert and gave them water in copious floods. He made streams flow from the crag, and brought the waters forth in the rivers. He opened the rock and the waters gushed out. They ran in dry places like a river" (Psalms 78: 15 - 16). The Bedouins, who greatly venerate the rock, put grass into the fissures as an offering to the memory of Moses and as a fertility rite.



NO. 18 J. M. W. Turner
The Wilderness of Sinai
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
177 x 254
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv



NO. 19

Abraham Hay
The Wilderness of Sinai
1986
silver gelatin print
406 x 508
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College
Gift of the Friends of the Museum.

The Valley in Which the Children of Israel were encamped, Mount Sinai in the Distance

In the year following that of the Israelites' departure from the land of Egypt, on the first day of the second month, the Lord said to Moses in the meeting tent in the desert of Sinai: 'Take a census of the whole community of the Israelites, by clans and ancestral houses, registering each male individually.'

Numbers 1: 1 - 2

The Sinai is a triangular desert peninsula in the far southwest of the Holy Land, almost completely surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea and the two arms of the Red Sea. A bridgehead between Asia and Africa, it is known as the resting place for the Ten Tribes of Israel as they fled to the Promised Land from the bondage of Egypt. This engraving (no. 20) depicts the Israelites as they remained in the wilderness during all the events recorded in Exodus, from chapter 19 to the end, in Leviticus, and in the first nine chapters of the Book of Numbers. The most momentous events in the history of Israel that molded the national character occurred at Sinai. Most notably, Moses received the Ten Commandments, the foundation of the Jewish ethos, at the top of Mount Sinai.

Turner adds human drama, amazing in detail and in the ways it relates to the text in the Book of Exodus. He renders the Ten Commandments, Moses and Aaron at prayer and the excitement of the people, and lavishly depicts the tents and their picturesque disposition in the valley.



NO. 2[illegible]

J. M. W. Turner
The Valley in which the Children of Israel were Encamped, Mount Sinai in the Distance
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
175 x 250
engraved by James B. Allen
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Jaffa

For our part, we will cut the trees of Lebanon, as many as you need, and float them down to you at the port of Joppa, whence you may take them up to Jerusalem.

2 Chronicles 2: 15

Barry's drawing of Jaffa (no. 21) includes a sweeping view of the landscape surrounding the port city that received pilgrims into the Holy Land. Turner narrows the focus of this view to include only the walled town that sits upon a conical hill. As seen in the engraving (no. 22), Jaffa overlooks the Mediterranean on three sides. On the hilltop we see the Monastery of St. Peter and eighteenth-century Turkish buildings; on the hillside, the Franciscan Church of St. Anthony. In the foreground are the gardens of Jaffa.

Since antiquity, Jaffa has been the maritime gateway to Jerusalem. The name may be a derivation of *yaffe*, Hebrew for "beautiful," or of Japheth, Noah's son who established the town after the Flood. The New Testament refers to it as Joppa, the Greek form. When the Ten Tribes of Israel entered Canaan and divided the country, Jaffa fell to the lot of the Tribe of Dan (Joshua 19: 40), which failed to subdue the town. Only under King Solomon's rule did Jaffa become Jerusalem's seaport. Here the prophet Jonah embarks for Tarshish (Jonah 1: 3) and here also, according to the New Testament, Peter raised Tabitha from the dead (Acts 9: 36 - 42), and, in the house of Simon the Tanner, saw visions. Jaffa was burnt, utterly destroyed, and rebuilt several times.



NO. 21

Sir Charles Barry
Jaffa (Album II: Holy Land and Syria)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
431 x 584
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 22

J. M. W. Turner
Jaffa
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 254
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv



NO. 23

Abraham Hay
Jaffa
1986
silver gelatin print
406 x 508
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College
Gift of the Friends of the Museum.

Jerusalem with the Walls

Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles,
until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.

Luke 21: 24

Barry's drawings of the city walls depict bare, but detailed, landscapes of Jerusalem from the north (nos. 24, 25); Turner embellishes these scenes with people and animals, altering Barry's more architectural focus, as seen in this engraving (no. 26). To the left, just above the Damascus Gate, (a main entrance to the Old City), the Mosque of Omar overlooks the city. Behind it, we see the Mount of Olives. At center right, the large domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre mark the Christian Quarter. In the foreground, a large group of women and children, some clearly influenced by European fashion, rest in the shade of some trees. One woman appears to play a tambourine. Turner likely intended to represent the pilgrims who flock to the city seasonally. "And now we have set foot within your gates, O Jerusalem — with compact unity" (Psalm 122: 2 - 3).



NO. [illegible] Sir Charles Barry
Jerusalem from North West (Album the Holy Land and Syria)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
[illegible]
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 25 Sir Charles Barry
Jerusalem From North East (Album V: Israel Sketches)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
170 x 273
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 26

J. M. W. Turner
Jerusalem with the Walls
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 255
engraved by William Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv



NO. 27 Abraham Hay
Jerusalem with the Walls
1986
silver gelatin print
406 x 508
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College.
Gift of the Friends of the Museum

Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives

That day his feet shall rest upon the Mount of Olives, which is opposite Jerusalem to the east. The Mount of Olives shall be cleft in two from the east to west by a very deep valley, and half of the mountain shall move to the north, and half of it to the south.

Zechariah 15: 4

This watercolor (no. 28, pl. VII) presents a magnificent panorama from the Mount of Olives on the east side of Jerusalem, across the narrow Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Brook of Kidron, to Mount Moriah and the dramatic ancient city. From this perspective, we see Jerusalem as a rough, elongated square with an impressive wall, battlements and gates. The imposing Mosque of Omar, built upon Mount Moriah, clearly dominates the city. Almost lost amid the churches, towers and minarets rising in succession are the twin domes of the Holy Sepulchre. Most of the other buildings appear as heavy-set masses rising more than two or three stories. Plate VII, page 16



NO. 29

J. M. W. Turner
Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives
1835
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
175 x 252
engraved by J. B. Allen
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv



[illegible]

Abraham Hay
Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives
1986
silver gelatin print
406 x 508
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College
Gift of the Friends of the Museum

Mount Moriah

Then God said: 'Take your son, Isaac, your only son whom you love,
and go to the land of Moriah. There you shall offer him up as a holocaust
on a height that I will point out to you.'

Genesis 22: 2

The description of Mount Moriah (also known throughout Jewish history as Mount Zion) is the common focus of this pair of images. Once again Turner looks to Barry's earlier architectural study and creates a more emotional scene inclined toward narrative. Barry's view (no. 31) shows Jerusalem as an amphitheater of hills, bordered on the east by the deep valleys of Jehoshaphat and the Brook of Kidron, which is dotted with citrus groves overlooked by an isolated castle. Consistent with Turner's style and disposition toward romantic dramatization, his engraving (no. 32) departs from the bare outline of Barry's technical sketch. The imposing walls of Jerusalem and the Mosque of Omar towering above them command the composition.

In the original explanatory text to the engraving, Turner describes the city as wretched and ruined, as it is represented in Lamentations, the Old Testament psalter, which describes the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of the Babylonians (587 B.C.). The figures in the foreground of his engraving may correspond to this biblical description of the city's misfortune. There, mounted soldiers appear to guard bound prisoners seated near looted riches. In the center, a woman is dragged away by a captor, and other figures grieve beneath trees.

Despite the somber reference, Jerusalem inspired the artist to imagine it as a restored city of splendor and beauty. Interesting to note is that a rainbow appears in the watercolor of Mount Moriah, a symbol of the covenant between God and Man that didn't survive the translation into engraving.



NO. 31 Sir Charles Barry
Mount Moriah
c. 1819
pencil on paper
229 x 297
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 32 J. M. W. Turner
Mount Moriah
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
178 x 251
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv



NO. 33 Abraham Hay
Mount Moriah
1986
silver gelatin print
406 x 508
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College
Gift of the Friends of the Museum

Valley of the Brook of Kidron

When he had said this, Jesus went out to his disciples across the Kidron Valley to where there was a garden, into which he and his disciples entered.

John 18: 1

The Valley of the Brook of Kidron opens up between the Old City of Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. On the left is the so-called Tomb of Absalom, a monument believed to have been constructed by the rebel prince whose name it bears: "During his lifetime Absalom had taken a pillar and erected it for himself in the Kings Valley, for he said, 'I have no son to perpetuate my name.' The pillar which is named for himself is called Yad-abshalom to the present day'" (2 Samuel 18: 18). Hewn from rock, the monument is quadrangular at its base; its four sides are faced with ionic columns and pilasters. The tapering top shows signs of Egyptian architectural influence that so engaged Barry (no. 34). In the foreground of the Turner engraving (no. 35), a shepherd sleeps by the tomb while his goats rest and graze. In the corner, lower right, we see the Brook of Kidron filled with rain-water, which accumulates only during the winter months. Rising majestically above the brook is the steep limestone escarpment of Mount Moriah and a corner of the eastern wall of Jerusalem. In the background, we can just discern the faint outlines of the storied Siloam Village, and, further in the distance, the hills of the Judean desert.



NO. 34

Sir Charles Barry

Valley of the Brook of Kidron (Album II: Holy Land and Syria)

c. 1819

pencil on paper

237 x 298

British Architectural Library Drawings Collection, Royal Institute of British Architects



No. 35

J. M. W. Turner
Valley of the Brook of Kidron
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
[illegible] x 276
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv



No. 36

Abraham Hay
The Valley of the Brook of Kidron
1986
silver gelatin print
406 x 508
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College.
Gift of the Friends of the Museum

Jerusalem, Pool of Bethesda

Now there is in Jerusalem at the sheep [gate] a pool called in Hebrew Bethesda, with five porticoes.

John 5: 2

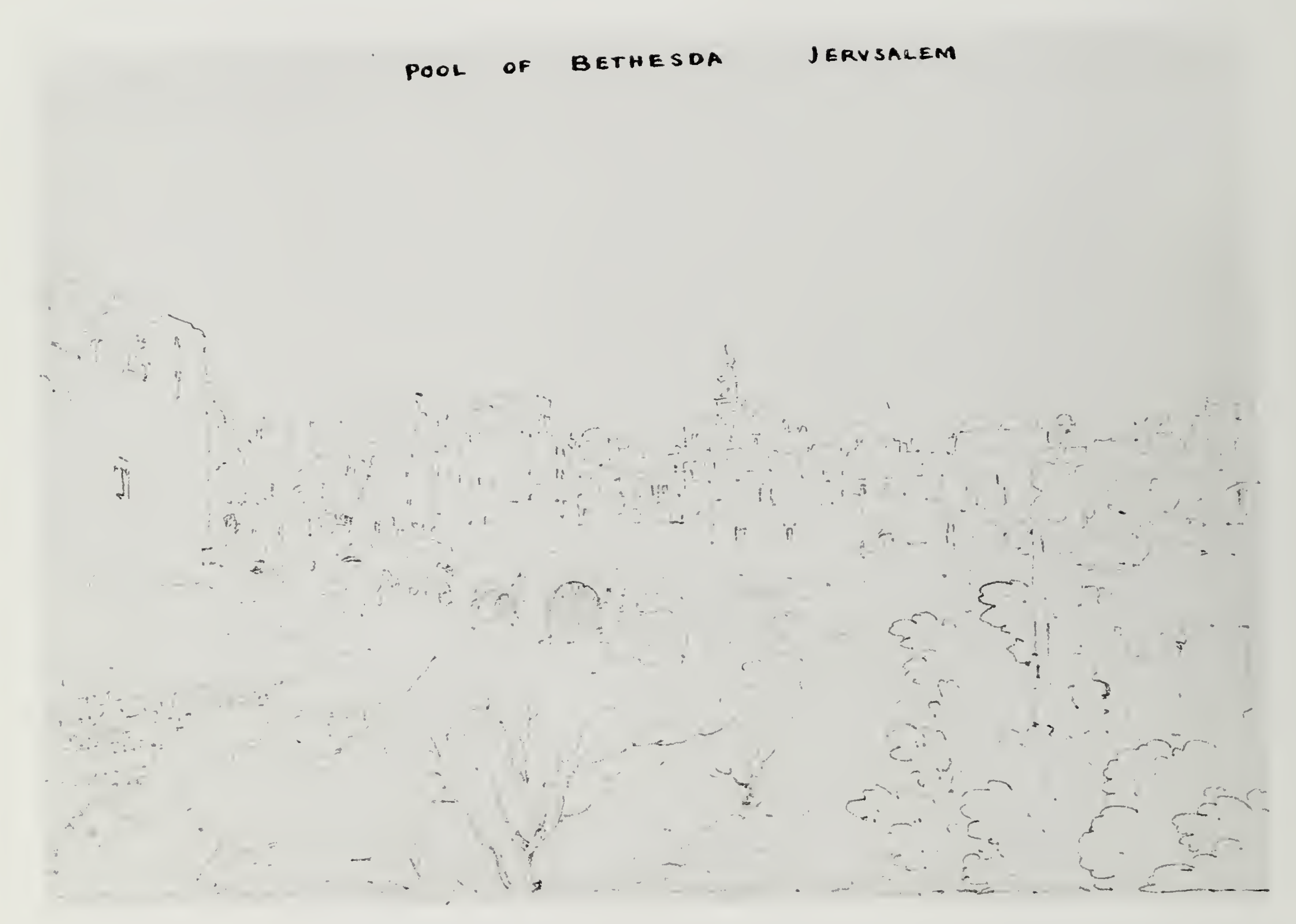
While Barry's drawings evidence his care for the architectural elements of this view, traditionally called the Pool of Bethesda (nos. 37, 38), figures populate the foreground of Turner's watercolor (no. 39, pl. VIII) and engraving (no. 40), both entitled *Near the Gate of Saint Stephen.* The figures, shown exploring the ruins by ladder, symbolize, apparently, the quest for knowledge and research that characterized visitors to this ancient city early in the nineteenth century. Indeed, these were the beginnings of archeology in the huge archeological site called Jerusalem.

Among the local Arab population, the area is better known as *Berket El Serail*, or the Pool of the Palace (John 5: 2 - 9). The Gate of Saint Stephen derives its name from the proto martyr who is said to have been dragged through it to the spot upon which he was stoned to death (Acts 7: 57 - 59). According to the New Testament, the gate was the scene of miraculous healing and thus came to be known as the House of Mercy. Turner shows the once-deep pool in decay, sullied by weeds and rubbish. To the left, he has drawn one of the walls enclosing the Temple Mount. The vaulted arches on the side of the pool farthest from the viewer may have been an aqueduct that supplied water to the temple. Turner's depiction of domes, minarets and buildings convey an accurate impression of the nineteenth-century city. In the left foreground, a man has scaled a tall ladder that leans against the imposing wall. Several men below seem to await his descent. On the right is a group of seated women, and close to the edge of the pool, a couple stands near a second ladder. Plate VIII, page 17



NO. 37

Sir Charles Barry
Jerusalem, Pool of Bethesda (Album I: Egypt and Nubia)
c. 1819
pencil on paper, pasted on cardboard
282 x 408
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 38 Sir Charles Barry
Pool of Bethesda, Jerusalem (Album V: Israel Sketches)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
170 x 273
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



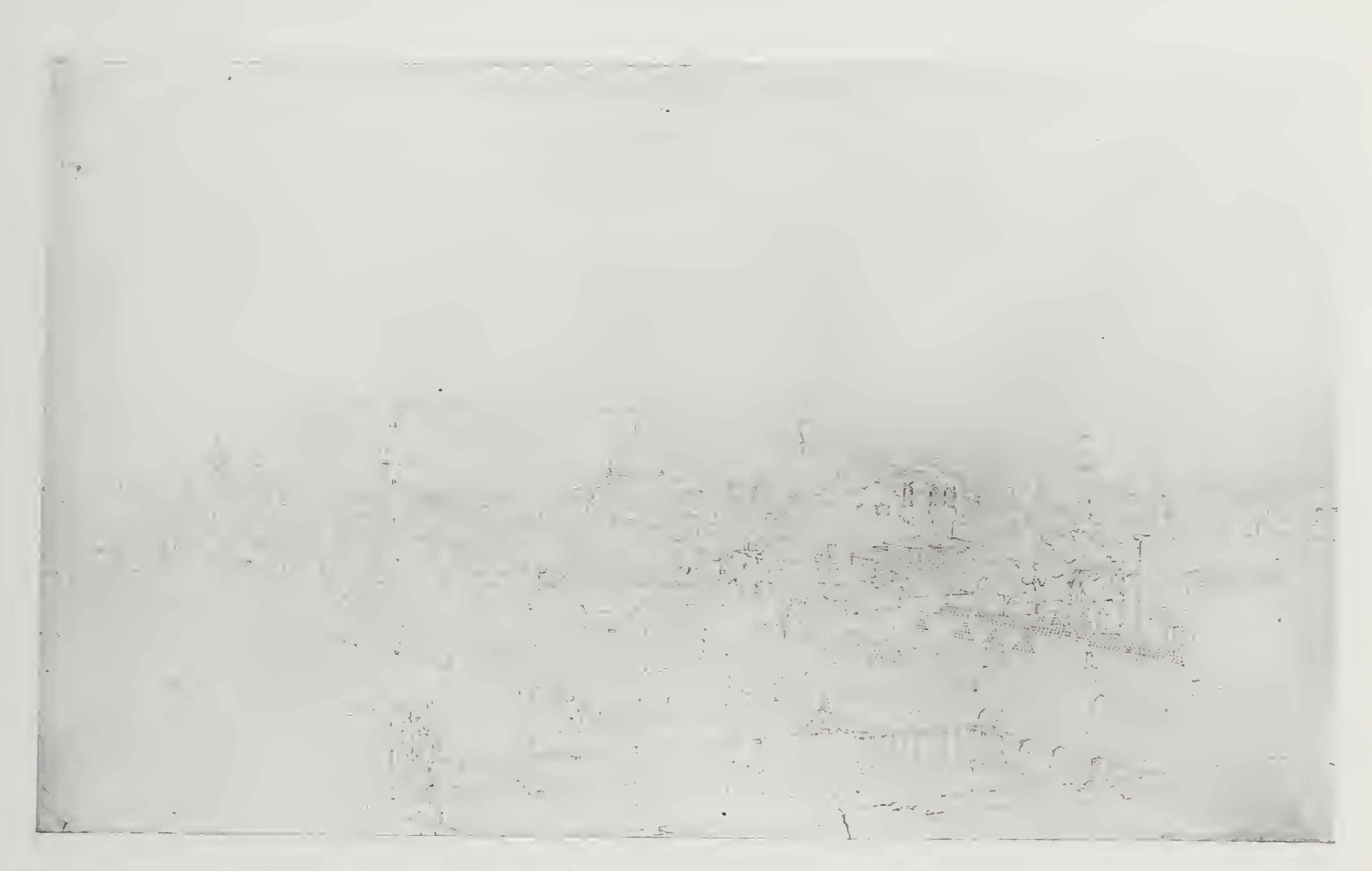
NO. 40

J. M. W. Turner
Near the Gate of Saint Stephen or *Jerusalem, Pool of Bethesda*
c. 1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 240
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Jerusalem from the Latin Convent

Here we see Jerusalem from the highest point of the Old City: atop the Latin Convent in the northwestern portion of the Christian Quarter. In the Barry drawing (no. 41), as well as in the foreground of Turner's watercolor (no. 42, pl. IX), the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands out conspicuously among the clustered houses. The background comprises almost all the holy places of the Old City. Part of the convent, the Old Casa Nova, now the Franciscan Pilgrims' Offices, was, for many generations, the main hostel for Christian pilgrims. Barry probably stayed in this hostel when he visited Jerusalem over Easter in 1819.

The exquisite engraving (no. 43) appears in none of the editions of Finden's *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible,* and may have been issued in 1833 as a specimen plate. Plate IX, page 18



NO. 41

Sir Charles Barry
Jerusalem from the Latin Convent (Album I: Egypt and Nubia)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
465 x 670
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection,
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 43

J. M. W. Turner
Jerusalem, from the Latin Convent
1833
engraver's proof
133 x 90
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Gift of Tamar and Teddy Kolleck, Jerusalem,
The Israel Museum Collection, Jerusalem



NO. 44 Abraham Hay
Jerusalem from the Latin Convent
1986
silver gelatin print
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College.
Gift of the Friends of the Museum

Bethlehem

When Jesus born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of King Herod,
behold, magi from the east arrived in Jerusalem.

Matthew 2: 1

This engraving underscores the vast difference between Barry, who still drew the Holy Land with the eye of a Neo-classicist, and Turner, who was not only among the founders of the English Romantic movement, but also its epitome. Turner incorporates the story of the Holy Family (no. 46) into Barry's landscape (no. 45).

In Hebrew, the name Bethlehem implies "a house of bread," a reference, perhaps, to the very fertile soil, about six miles southwest of Jerusalem upon which both Jesus and King David were born. Furthest left, like a citadel, stands the convent of San Giovanni, which contains the Church of the Nativity. In the engraving, Turner has introduced a star above that church to draw the viewer's eye. The figures in the foreground recall the Holy Family iconography, especially the mother and child, a subject that Turner painted in oil as early as 1803.



No. 45 Sir Charles Barry
Bethlehem, Album II: Holy Land and Syria
c. 1819
pencil and brown ink wash
270 x 365
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 46

J. M. W. Turner
Bethlehem
c. 1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 255
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Pools of Solomon

And I constructed for myself reservoirs to water a flourishing woodland.

Ecclesiastes 2: 6

While Barry again emphasizes the architecture and spatial configuration of this view (no. 47), Turner populates the scene with a rich array of costumes, weaponry and horses, turning Barry's flat and serene panorama into a skirmish between local tribes (no. 48). One can almost hear, through the medium of the Romantic imagination of Northern Europe, the East awakening to a new era in this thorny and forgotten land.

The magnificent Pools of Solomon, a short distance south of Bethlehem, were most likely those commissioned by King Solomon and referred to in Ecclesiastes. The fountain that supplies their waters is a small distance away. The friars of Bethlehem truly believe this to be the "Sealed Fountain" (Song of Songs 4: 12), to which Solomon compares his bride. More than a half-mile below, lofty mountains surround a deep valley, which, according to the monks of Bethlehem, is the "enclosed garden" (Song of Songs 4: 12). To the left is a small Turkish fortress, dating from about 1540. The soldiers in the foreground may be Turner's nod to the strategic value of these pools as a major source of water for the city of Jerusalem.



FIG. 47 Sir Charles Barry
The Pools of Solomon (Album II: Holy Land and Syria)
c. 1819
ink on paper
24[illegible] × [illegible]
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 48

J. M. W. Turner
The Pools of Solomon
c. 1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 256
engraved by J. Stephenson
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

Ramah with the Building Called Rachel's Tomb

Thus says the Lord: 'In Ramah is heard the sound of moaning, of bitter weeping! Rachel mourns her children, she refuses to be consoled because her children are no more.'

Jeremiah 31: 15

Across the immediate foreground of this watercolor, by the edge of a small copse, hungry wolves attack a flock of grazing sheep, and, to the right, one sheep bends over its dead companion (no. 49, pl. X). This imagined scene occurs between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, not far from the large, solitary domed building that is believed to be the Tomb of Rachel. The mausoleum appears isolated, despite its roadside setting. Its protective walls, the dark woods to the left, the tents between the tomb, as well as the gray, walled city of Ramah in the background contribute to the melancholy effect. It was in biblical Ramah that the prophet Samuel was born, anointed King Saul, and eventually died. Trees, bushes and grassy stubble cover the intervening dark ridges and slopes; ominous hills rear up gradually, gray and steep, finally reaching into curling wisps of cloud and mist. Plate X, page 19



NO. 50

J. M. W. Turner
Ramah with the Building Called Rachel's Tomb
1835
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
179 x 254
engraved by William Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Wilderness of Engedi and the Convent of Santa Saba

And it came to pass, when Saul was returned from following the philistines,
that was told him, saying 'Behold, David is in the wilderness of Engedi.'

1 Samuel 30: 1

Deep ravines wind through the barren Mountains of Judah. Engedi, which means "fount of the kid" in Hebrew, was one of many cities founded on a group of hills just above the Dead Sea.

The Convent of Santa Saba was founded in the sixth century. The convent is situated at the summit of a three- or four-hundred feet deep ravine, at the bottom of which flows the Brook of Kidron. Seen in both of Barry's drawings (nos. 51, 52) and Turner's watercolor and engraving (nos. 53, 54, pl. XI), the church stands on a small eminence at the bottom of the dell, and above it rise the buildings of the monastery. The dome, near the center of the watercolor, contains the tomb of Saint Saba, who instituted the monastic and eremitic life here in the fourth century. A flight of steps from the roof of the convent leads to a narrow wooden tower overlooking the deep wilderness. Other flights lead to several small terraces built so as to retain what little arable soil there was and upon which the monks cultivated a variety of vegetables for the convent's kitchen. Turner adds monks walking in the foreground and approaching the steep incline to the monastery.

Engedi was famed for its abundant vineyards: "My lover is for me a cluster of Henna from the vineyards of Engedi" (Song of Songs 1, 14). 1 Samuel 24:3 tells us that Saul "went in search of David and his men in the direction of the wild goat crags." Turner aptly represents the recesses, or "strong-holds," that concealed David from Saul (1 Samuel 23: 29).



NO. 51

Sir Charles Barry
Convent of Santa Saba (Album I, Egypt and Nubia)
1819
pencil on paper
392 x 540
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection,
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 52 Sir Charles Barry
Convent of Santa Saba (Album V: Israel Sketches)
c. 1819
ink on paper, pasted on cardboard
275 x 360
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 54

J. M. W. Turner
The Wilderness of Engedi and the Convent of Santa Saba
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
178 x 254
engraved by J. B. Allen
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv



NO. 55 Abraham Hay
The Convent of Santa Saba
1986
silver gelatin print
406 x 508
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College.
Gift of the Friends of the Museum.

Jericho

The Negeb, the circuit of the Jordan with the lowlands at Jericho,
city of the palms, and as far as Zoar.

Deuteronomy 34: 3

Far left, in the immediate foreground of this engraving (no. 56), within a darkened hollow, Turner suggests two Arab horsemen, their steeds and their long staffs. Just above them, and to the right of a tree, sits a single onlooker. In the center-foreground, by the edge of a low stone wall, a European woman with a small child by her side, reclines. Just behind her, a helmeted Arab horseman carries a gun over his left shoulder and a staff in his right hand. Behind him is yet another mounted figure. In the center of the foreground, groups of horsemen and oriental figures gather beside a large circular tent. The dwelling in the right foreground is typical of Jericho. It has one door, few windows and unreliable wooden eaves; a large cloth is stretched from the roof and pegged to the ground to provide shade. The other buildings are just as meager, except for the tall stone tower at the far left, which seems to have fallen into disrepair. Several local women sit in their courtyard tending goats. Nearest to us some carpets are slung over a low, mud wall. The trees just beyond help to contrast this well-watered oasis with the barren mountains of the Judean Desert. Leading up to the central peak, Mount Quarantaria, "a very high mountain," according to Matthew 4: 8, is a row of derelict and forlorn dwellings, which may once have belonged to Christian hermits and penitents. The almost cloudless sky is typical of such a desert region.



NO. 56

J. M. W. Turner
Jericho
1835
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
175 x 257
engraved by William Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Dead Sea, Jericho and the Mouth of the Jordan

The Eastern boundary was the Salt Sea as far north as the mouth of the Jordan.

Joshua 15: 5

The group of pilgrims which Turner has included in the left foreground of this watercolor (no. 57, pl. XII) is of particular interest. Their clothing tells us that they are visitors rather than easterners, European Christians on their way to baptism in the waters of the Jordan. As in other views, Turner's representation of the pilgrim is intended to directly connect his European viewer with the subject of the Holy Land.

The background of this view shows the range of mountains, called the Moab and Edom, that border the Dead Sea to the east. The foreground unfolds the vast desert plain of the Arava at the foot of the wilderness of Judah. The lake, center, is about 394 meters below sea level, the lowest spot on the surface of the earth.

Scripture variously refers to this celebrated saline lake lying in a valley with a plain lying to its south as The Sea of the Plain (Deuteronomy 3: 17; 4: 49), The Salt Sea (Deuteronomy 3: 17), The Salt Sea Eastward (Numbers 34: 3), and, by virtue of its location relative to Judah, The East Sea (Ezekiel 47: 18; Joel 2: 20). It is most widely known as The Dead Sea, for the fatal effect of its water on practically all organic life.

The river Jordan daily discharges large quantities of water into the sea, then turns to the southeast and remains visible for ten or fifteen miles. Then it disappears in an easterly curve. In the engraving, Turner distinctly delineates the Jordan as it flows alongside the city of Jericho. The mountains on the Judean side (one of which we can see on the right) are lower than the Mountains of Moab on the Arabian side, which are prominent in the distance. Plate XII, page 21



NO. 58

J. M. W. Turner
The Dead Sea, Jericho and the Mouth of the Jordan
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
173 x 246
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Nazareth

He went and dwelt in a town called Nazareth; so that what had been spoken through the prophets might be fulfilled. 'He shall be called a Nazarene."

Matthew 2: 23

While a small group of human figures are quickly drawn—perhaps for scale—into the left foreground of Barry's view of the city (no. 59), in contrast, Turner devotes a great deal of attention to the pilgrims, laying out the ritual drama in all its particulars, and linking the viewer with the view. The engraving (no. 60) shows the central figure from the back, its arms spread wide to the open landscape.

A succession of low hills encircles the valley, verdant, serene and bathed in a warm, late-afternoon light. On the hillock, in the foreground, a flock of sheep rests contentedly beside a cart path. To the right, pilgrims gather in prayer and meditation beneath a stand of trees. Nazareth, where Christ spent much of his youth, spreads across the valley. Center scene, Turner sketches the spire of a mosque. To the left, at the edge of a long wall, where the rocky high ground joins the valley, once the site, according to the New Testament, of Joseph and Mary's house, and where Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary, are both the Latin Convent and the Church of the Incarnation. Drab houses, scattered across the countryside, almost fade into the natural landscape.



No. [illegible] Sir Charles Barry
Nazareth, Album I: Egypt and Nubia
c. 1819
pencil on paper
250 x 365
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection
Royal Institute of British Architects



J. M. W. Turner
Nazareth
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
[illegible] x 250
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

Sidon

On the following day we put in at Sidon where Julius was kind enough to allow Paul to visit his friends who took care of him.

The Acts of the Apostles 27: 3

The town of Sidon was known for its great shipwrights. As 1 Kings (5: 6) tells us, "none [other] were skilled to hew timber like the Zidonians." Acts (27: 3) mentions St. Paul's visit. Reputed to have been founded by the eldest of the sons of Canaan, Sidon, in ancient times, was also famous for the wealth of its inhabitants. The town juts boldly out to sea; King Louis IX of France is thought to have built the now-ruined castle upon the elevation to the right of the town, as well as the nearly isolated tower before the Saracens invaded. The figures in the foreground of this engraving (no. 61) prepare the nets just cast from the small boats on the right. Behind the town, the land rises sharply from the sea, leaving almost no coastal plain. In the far distance, the bare and rugged Lebanon mountain range rises dramatically.



NO. 61

J. M. W. Turner
Sidon
c. 1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
223 x 276
engraved by William Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

Lebanon from Tripoli

Open the doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour your cedars.

Zachariah 11: 1

In an almost subconscious fashion, it is possible to see in this engraving (no. 63) how Turner adds his old loves—fishing boats, fishermen, nets—to this biblical landscape, carefully adding detail to the boats Barry roughly sketched (no. 62). There is no doubt that alongside the historical citation of New Testament stories and the Crusader battlements, the contemporary human element is always present and makes itself felt in all of Turner's works.

Tripoli, which the Arabs call Tarabolus and the Greeks and Romans call Tripolis, is situated under the lowest hills of Lebanon. Turner captures the city's architecturally defensive posture which it retains from the Crusades; two castles in the background, erected during the years of those invasions, reign from on high. The prophet Zachariah, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian policy toward the Jews exhorts Lebanon: "Open the doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour your cedars" (Zachariah 11: 1).



NO. 62

Sir Charles Barry
Tripoli (Album II: Holy Land and Syria)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
146 x 330
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 63

J. M. W. Turner
Lebanon, from Tripoli
1835
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
175 x 250
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

Mount Lebanon and the Convent of St. Antonio

I will be like the dew of Israel: he shall blossom like the lily. He shall strike root like the cedar, and put forth his shoots. His splendor shall be like the olive tree, and his fragrance like the Lebanon cedar. Again they shall dwell in his shade and raise grain; They shall blossom like the vine, and his fame shall be like the wine of Lebanon.

Hosea 14: 6 - 8

The ascent of the mountain and the testimony to man's need to make a path for himself between these enormous boulders is developed and emphasized in Turner's work (no. 65). This engraving shows Turner's return to the starting point of picturesque art, which was a significant influence not only on this great artist's early work, but also in his more mature work.

The Old Testament glorifies Mt. Lebanon in metaphor and compelling description. Some of the mountain's peaks are capped with snow the year round. The Maronite Convent of Saint Antonio stands on the isolated spot where the Saint of Kozhaia was reputed to have spent part of his life in solitary meditation. The lodgings of the austere brethren, the lonely cells and hermitages embrace the cliffs above the convent.



No. 114

Sir Charles Barry
Mount Lebanon and the Convent of St. Antonio
(Album I: Egypt and Nubia)
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Drawings Collection/
[illegible] Architects



NO. 65 J. M. W. Turner
Mount Lebanon and the Convent of St. Antonio
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 255
engraved by William Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Corinth (Cenchrea)

Paul remained for quite some time, and after saying farewell to the brothers he sailed for Syria, together with Priscilla and Aquila. At Cenchrea he had his hair cut because he had taken a vow.

The Acts of the Apostles 18: 18

This engraving (no. 66) presents a busy harbor scene in the eastern port of Corinth, also known as Cenchrea, which may be derived from the name of one of Neptune's sons. Under a bright, friendly sky, Greek and, likely, Turkish vessels jostle one another in the crowded harbor where fishermen have hauled in their nets. Turner has strewn the shipboards with articles of their labors: oars, poles and bags. Traders' tents crowd the shore. Wealthy and servant women travelers gather in the foreground. One young woman rolls up a blanket; another, perhaps a nurse, holds a baby. Behind her, sailors and traders look on, perhaps having just furled the sails of their vessel; behind this craft a young couple gazes towards us. On the far, left a single sailor stands at the bow of his low-slung craft. Beyond some large Mediterranean buildings, both at the center and far right, we can glimpse part of the busy isthmus between the Aegean and Ionian seas. Across the isthmus, on a steep hill, a few well-spaced buildings lead to the imposing Acropolis of Corinth. On the far right, atop a peak, is an isolated tower, one of the few sites to which the Acropolis might have been strategically vulnerable.



NO. 66

J. M. W. Turner
Corinth (Cenchreae)
c. 1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
175 x 253
engraved by Edward F. Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

Rhodes

When we had taken leave of them, we set sail, made a straight run for Cos, and on the next day for Rhodes, and from there to Patara.

The Acts of the Apostles 21: 1

The detailed treatment of both the figures and the city of Rhodes depicted in Turner's engraving (no. 68) contrasts sharply with the simple, linear silhouette that Barry produced of the city (no. 67). Clearly, Turner relied more upon his imagination and skill to produce this elaborate scene than upon the pencil drawing shown here.

The individual character and expression contained by the group of idealized Greek women in the foreground of this engraving negates the view that Turner was either uninterested or unable to draw the human figure. A small figure, far left, appears to pump water into a large well for the women completing their domestic chores. One woman reclines on the flagstones, leaning an elbow on her water jug; further to the right a man rests beside a low stone wall, perhaps the seller of the locally crafted jugs and vases displayed in the foreground. The hill behind slopes sharply down past the picturesque walled city of Rhodes, its houses standing close to the water's edge. Mastheads and sails fill the small narrow entrance to the busy harbor, while tiny white sails dot the sea beyond. The tower to the left of the harbor entrance supposedly occupies the former site of the Colossus of the Sun, one of the seven wonders of the world, which supposedly straddled the harbor. A rich and powerful republic before Vespasian reduced it to a Roman province, Rhodes was the last bastion of Christian chivalry before the Ottomans. In the far distance, beyond the coast of Asia Minor, we see and the mountains of Caramania. At the far left the sun is setting on Cape Crio (or Cridos), its perfect reflection in the languid waters is interrupted only by a few sailing boats.

NO. 67 Sir Charles Barry
Rhodes (Album III: Asia Minor and Archipelago)
c. 1819
pencil on paper
232 x 295
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. 68

J. M. W. Turner
Rhodes
1835
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
178 x 255
engraved by S. Fisher
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Assos

We went ahead to the ship and set sail for Assos where we were to take Paul on board, as he had arranged, since he was going overland.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES 20: 13

The vast difference between Barry's documentary drawings, such as this sketch of Assos (no. 69), and Turner's detailed picture of the same subject (no. 70), attests to the revolution which English art underwent in that short period between 1819 and 1834, or perhaps, more precisely, the transition between the Neo-classical outlook and the Modern. The infiltration of the figures into the foreground of the Turner engraving and the tension created between the ruin and the travelers is the starting point of what has become accepted as an icon for the entire Romantic movement: the ruins and the man who lives them anew with all their memories, hopes and disappointments.

Amid quiet desolation, two European women watch their guides clamber over the ruins in the center foreground. At left, a pair of sheep graze in the shadow of a broken wall; to the right a few goats dot a bare slope. This is Assos, once a great maritime city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, where Luke and the other companions of St. Paul rejoined with their ship. The remains of an imposing arched gateway, the large tower and the antique lintels recall a once-famous city.



NO. 69 Sir Charles Barry
Assos (Album III: Asia Minor and Archipelago)
c. 1819
pencil and brown ink wash on paper
250 x 330
British Architectural Library Drawings Collection/
Royal Institute of British Architects



NO. [illegible]

J. M. W. Turner
Assos
1834
engraving, first published state
printed on India paper
180 x 255
engraved by William Finden
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

CHAPTER THREE

Biblical Allusions in the Illustration of Literary Works

J. M. W. Turner achieved professional success—and middle age—by the time he began illustrating literary works. Between 1825, when he produced seven full-page drawings for John Murray's eleven-volume edition of *Lord Byron's Works*, and 1839, when he completed four vignettes for Irish poet Thomas Moore's *Epicurean*, Turner accepted several other literary commissions and designed over two hundred watercolor models for engravings on steel.[1]

Contemporaneous romantic literature and philosophy were steeped in the concepts and images of biblical history and prophecy. "The Old and New Testaments," wrote William Blake, "are the Great Code of Art."[2] And Percy Bysshe Shelley, in the list of books he considered necessary for a library of substance, includes, "last yet first, the Bible."[3] As Turner worked, references, reflecting the imageries and ethics, as well as the languages, of both bibles appeared repeatedly in almost every literary work that he embellished.

Turner tried—and succeeded—in some illustrations, like *Jerusalem*, which he executed as a frontispiece for *The Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart,* Vol. 6 (1834) to portray the ambiance of the Holy City, to design a "topographical stage" against which the dramas Scott described could be acted out and enriched. Since Scott's *Jerusalem* was written between 1833 and 1834, the same time that Turner was working on Finden's *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* (1832 - 1835), the artist probably based its design on a drawing by Sir Charles Barry, the source of all his views of the Holy City.[4]

Among the literary works Turner illustrated, however, the most effective in illuminating the elements of both continuity and change among biblical ethos, and the philosophical and literary traditions of which Romantic writers were legatees, was John Milton's *Poetical Works* for which Turner produced seven designs (nos. 71 - 77, pl. XIII).

Milton's Poetical Works

Several illustrated editions of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1674) and many paintings that the epic poem inspired appeared in the Royal Academy exhibitions during the first half of the nineteenth century. These works show the degrees to which their creators were moved by the pictorial elements within Milton's opus. Turner, however, in a perspective lecture, suggested that the poem was unsuitable for pictorial representation and warned that "poetic descriptions most full, most incidental, and displaying the greatest richness of verse is often the least pictorial, and hence hasty practice or choice, to use a more harsher term, are lead astray."[5] The verse quotations and titles that Turner took from Milton's work and attached to his paintings even further fueled the "Miltonic controversy." The quotations, taken from *Paradise Lost*, *Morning Amongst the Coniston Fells* and *Cumberland*, exhibited in 1798, and from *Harlech Castle, Tregwyn Ferry-Summer's Evening* and *Twilight*, exhibited in 1799, have very little in common with the paintings. Furthermore, a quotation from Thomson's *Seasons* would probably have more successfully accompanied *The Deluge*, exhibited in 1813, than Milton's words that Turner chose. Similarly, the oil painting, exhibited in 1834, has much more to do with the second part of its title, *Cornwall*, than with the first part, *St. Michael's Mount*, and its association with Milton's *Lycidas*. The seven vignettes for the *Poetical Works* would remain Turner's ultimate statement about Milton. W. G. Rawlinson describes the septet in terms that may obscure the flaws within the artist's visual interpretation:

> Here, Turner's imagination had full scope, and his *Mustering of the Warrior Angels* [no. 71] and *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* [no. 72] are magnificent in conception. But, as was often the case with Blake in his treatment of similar subjects, small faults of taste or of drawing in the figures greatly detract from their impressiveness. The otherwise fine *Temptation on the Pinnacle* [no. 75] is spoiled by the appearance of the balancing in the central figure; in *The Expulsion from Paradise* [no. 73] the design is beautiful, and the vista of the Garden exquisite, but again the figures are unsatisfactory. Still, as works of high imaginative power, the 'Milton' plates seem to me to deserve a higher place than Mr. Ruskin and others have accorded them. Especially it should be borne in mind that it is by the *engravings* rather than by the drawings, that all Turner's vignettes should be judged.[6]

Mustering Of The Warrior Angels

And there was war in heaven Michael and his angels fought against the dragon:
and the dragon fought against his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found
any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out that old serpent, called the Devil,
and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth
and his angels were cast out with him.

Revelation 12: 7 - 9

By choosing this dramatic scene as a subject for his vignette, Turner offers a pictorial tribute to Milton's poetic imaginations. The gathering of Satan's rebels and God's warriors described in *Paradise Lost* is taken from no direct source in the Bible, although its context is a reference to the War in Heaven and Fall of the Rebel Angels (Revelation 12: 7 - 9). In the engraving (no. 71), the artist depicts and unites the poetic and dramatic details of two distinct events. Both groups of warriors move within a circular pattern surrounding a central configuration of lights, which may represent "the golden Lamps that burn nightly" (*Paradise Lost* V, 713 - 714). By that light, God viewed Satan's nocturnal plans: the gathering of the rebels in the northern spheres of darkness.

The symbolism in Turner's use of dark and light is clear. The orbs of light and their reflective relationships with the shields, held by lines of angels at the top, for example, suggest the bright march of God's warriors to confront the rebel angels, represented, at the bottom, more as shadow than as substance. In relating light to God's army, and shade and darkness to Satan's, Milton's poem becomes a vehicle by which Turner expresses the ideas of Revelation and the underlying conflict between good and evil in terms of light and darkness. Furthermore, the light and dark stage on which the struggle takes place resembles the pictorial renderings of pseudoscientific descriptions of the universe, and fantastic neoclassic monuments of Turner's contemporaries.



NO. 71

J. M. W. Turner
Mustering of the Warrior Angels
(Paradise Lost, Book VI)
1835
line engraving on steel
83 x 95
engraved by R. Brandard
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

The Fall of the Rebel Angels

Then the fifth angel blew his trumpet, and I saw a star that had fallen from heaven onto the earth, and the angel was given the key to the shaft leading down to the Abyss. When he unlocked the shaft of the Abyss, smoke rose out of the Abyss like the smoke from a huge furnace so that the sun and the sky were darkened by the smoke from the Abyss...

Revelation 9: 1 - 2

In this engraved illustration (no. 72) for Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book VI, Turner depicts the defeated rebel angels falling into a dark, burning pit below. Although Milton drew from Revelation 12: 7 - 9 in describing the fall, his depiction of the pit comes from Revelation 9: 1 - 2 and 20: 1 - 3. Turner alters some details of this biblical event, but generally conforms to the biblical narrative. For example, he hands the third and final day of the battle and its victory to a glorious and powerful Christ, rather than to Michael: "So spake the Son and into terror chang'd his count'-nance too severe to be beheld and full of wrath bent on his Enemies...Grasping ten thousand Thunders...."[7]

Turner, always amenable to Milton's muse, employs light and dark in this engraving to translate the vision of victory into pictorial forms. Through the vague, heavenly landscape in the upper half of the oval composition, light and lightning stream forward, consuming all evil substance. Turner shows rebel angels as silhouettes falling into a burning lake, an image he probably found in the text of Book I, 180 - 190. But, if Turner follows Milton's text, he also views the fall of the angels in a larger, biblical context. In the upper left, as a personal, topographic and biblical reference, he adds a rainbow, a symbol of hope for humanity in its struggle with Satan and his fallen angels.

Engraver Edward Goodall's son told Turner's biographer W. G. Rawlinson that, "when his father was engraving this plate, Turner wrote across the upper part of the proof 'put me in innumerable figures here'"[8]—another device by which Turner conveyed a sublime atmosphere.



NO. 72

J. M. W. Turner
The Fall of the Rebel Angels
(Paradise Lost, Book VI)
1835
line engraving on steel
79 x 113
engraved by E. Goodall
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Expulsion from Paradise

The Lord therefore banished him from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he had been taken. When he expelled the man, he settled him east of the garden of Eden; and he stationed the cherubim and the fiery revolving sword, to guard the way to the tree of life.

Genesis 3: 23 - 24

Genesis 3: 23 - 24 is the biblical source for the *Expulsion from Paradise*, which ends *Paradise Lost*. Milton adds his own realistic details to the biblical narrative: the gate in the east and the archangel's companionship (*Paradise Lost*, XII, 625 - 649). As seen in this engraving (no. 73), Turner adapts the gate as a pictorial framework, surrounding it with baroque cherubim who guard the flaming sword and the entrance, through which he gives us an open view of the Garden of Eden. This panorama of the Garden is found in many of Turner's open air studies, such as his Rhine watercolors of 1819 and 1834.

In the foreground, Michael, sword in hand, escorts Adam and Eve out of Eden, following the serpent, the symbol of evil. This motif, which appears throughout Turner's biblical works, is especially significant to this subject. The appearance of the serpent marks the beginning of the three final books of *Paradise Lost*, after the account of the fall at the end of Book IX. Throughout the last three books, Adam's understanding of God's curse on the serpent is a leitmotif that creates suspense and a sense of dramatic unity. Turner's inclusion of the symbol of the snake expands the scope of the scene to refer to the perspective of time and its promise of salvation.



NO. 73

J. M. W. Turner
The Expulsion from Paradise
(Paradise Lost, Book XI)
1835
line engraving on steel
83 x 121
engraved by E. Goodall
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel Aviv

The Temptation on the Mountain

Then he took him up and showed him all the Kingdom of the world in a single instant. The devil said to him, 'I shall give you all this power and their glory; for it has been handed over to me, and I may give it to whomever I wish. All this may be yours if you worship me.' Jesus said to him in reply, 'It is written: you shall worship the Lord, your God, and him alone you serve.'

Luke 4: 5 - 8

In *Paradise Regained*, Milton divides the account of the Temptation on the Mountain into two scenes. First, in Book III, Satan offers Christ the glory of all kingdoms, save Rome, which the poet reserves for Book IV. Turner's pictorial description of the scene (no. 74) shows the earthly realm offered to Christ, in the form of a sublime landscape. He perhaps meant to equate the scattered hills with the cities described in detail by Milton, as is suggested by notes Turner later made on an engraver's proof of the image, such as "Cities of the Plain," "City on the Rock," "City not walled," "Domes and towers of Ninevah, and wall'd found N. B. City most made out nothing, like a Spire." On the right he notes, "Another city wall."

These written remarks seem only to refer to Milton's detailed poetic descriptions and Turner's own topographical interests, without bearing specific relation to the engraving itself, for no cities can be discerned on the hilly plain. Turner's barren landscape derives from the Miltonic and biblical messages he wishes to convey, namely the insignificance of Satan's earthly kingdom offered to Christ, as well as for any man wishing to attain the Kingdom of Heaven.

The snake, already seen as a symbol of evil, enhances the didactic approach of this engraving. Placed in the left foreground, it extends the immediate scene of temptation on the right, and situates the scene within a broader poetic and biblical context, recalling the earlier temptation of Eve and the consequent loss of Paradise.



NO. 74

J. M. W. Turner
The Temptation on the Mountain
(Paradise Regained, Book III)
1835
line engraving on steel
83 x 92
engraved by S. Cousen
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

The Temptation on the Pinnacle

Then the devil took him to the holy city, and made him stand on the parapet of the Temple,
and said to him, 'If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down. For it is written:
He will command his angels concerning you'; And 'with their hands they will bear
support you, lest you dash your foot against a stone.' Jesus answered him; 'Again,
it is written again, you shall not put the lord, your God, to the test.'

Matthew 4: 5 - 7

Looking to the biblical story of Satan's temptation of Christ atop the Temple in Jerusalem,[9] Milton adds a dramatic ending to his narrative in *Paradise Regained* by returning to the image of Satan's fall from light: "Tempt not the Lord thy God, [Jesus] said and stood. But Satan smitten with amazement fell...Fell whence he stood to see his Victor fall (*Paradise Regained*, IV, 560 - 571)."

Turner's literal approach to Milton's text is evident in his representation of this scene, which describes the significant moment of the biblical story within the pictorial patterns of traditional art and architecture. In this engraving (no. 75), Christ is poised precariously on the pinnacle of a Gothic tower, bright against the shadows of Old Jerusalem. Christ's figure, reminiscent of Gothic manuscript illumination in its upper central position and serpentine shape, is surrounded by baroque angels, ready to carry him away. On the right, Satan spreads his bat-like wings and falls away from heaven and a New Jerusalem. This engraving is Turner's most religious representation, if his method of pictorial interpretation is understood to be a tribute to Milton's poetry, taken from the Christian artistic tradition.



NO. 75

J. M. W. Turner
The Temptation on the Pinnacle
(Paradise Regained, Book IV)
1835
line engraving on steel
66 x 114
engraved by F. Bacon
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Campbell's Poetical Works

The many accounts of Turner's undertaking to illustrate *Campbell's Poetical Works* reveal abundant but sometimes contradictory detail. The biographies of the primary members of the project, Turner, Thomas Campbell and the engraver Edward Goodall, differ not only in their explanations of the financial aspects, but in their interpretations of Turner's attitudes, toward both his own work and Campbell's.

The earliest account, which also seems to be the most reliable, appeared in *The Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell* (1849), edited by William Beattie. According to Beattie,

> [It] was agreed that, in the imitation of Rogers' 'Italy' [the new volume of Campbell's poems] should be brought out with all the attractions that tasteful designs and finished engravings could bestow. Mr. Turner was commissioned to furnish the designs, Goodall the engravings with such a combination of talent, the profits on an 'Illustrated Edition' promised to indemnify the author for all expenses and leave a handsome surplus at his disposal—The cost of the drawings and engravings, as he calculated would amount to £800, but in the end, I believe, it much exceeded that sum.[10]

In his biography of Campbell, Beattie asserts that the poet was eager to sell Turner's drawings immediately after he had made use of them. Campbell's letters to one Mr. W. Gray leave no doubt that the painter bought back the drawings the same year he delivered them to the engravers. "My illustrated edition was no sooner out," writes Campbell to Gray, November 28, 1837,

> than I found myself in a mess about disposing of the drawings, for which I paid, in all, to Turner, £550—i.e. twenty-five guineas for each, and £25 for a thousand proof prints. I had been told that Turner's drawings were little blank notes, that would always fetch the price paid for them, but when I offered them at £300, I could get no purchaser. One very rich and judicious amateur, to whom I offered them, said to me,—'I have no intention to purchase drawings because they are worth so little money, that I should be sorry to see you sell them for as little as they are really worth. The truth is that fifteen out of the twenty are but indifferent drawings. But sell them by lottery and either Turner's name will bring you in two hundred guineas or Turner himself will buy them up.' I went to Turner, and the amateur's prediction was fulfilled, for Turner bought them up for two hundred guineas.[11]

In 1861, Turner's first biographer, Walter Thornbury, provided two versions of the episode in his work *The Life of J. M. W. Turner*. These accounts contradict not only that of Campbell's biographer, but even each other. The first relates matter-of-factly that "Campbell, the poet, desired Turner to make a set of drawings for an edition of his work, for which Campbell's circumstances did not allow him to pay, and he had the honesty to confess that it would be inconvenient for him to discharge the debt, on which Turner, with kind sympathy, told the poet to return the drawings, which he afterwards gave to a friend."[12] The second, which follows immediately, as Thornbury himself points out, "certainly reflects more credit on the painter than on the

poet."[13] According to Campbell's friend, Cyrus Redding, Campbell said,

> 'I have just played [Turner] a trick...I had gone to a great expense for Turner's drawings to be engraved for my illustrated poems...I was also told not to mind the expense, the drawings would sell, being Turner's, for what I had paid for them, as soon as the engravings were finished. They could not be disposed of at anything like the price. It was said they were not his best style; in short I thought I should be compelled to keep them. One day I saw Turner, and told him what had occurred, and that I had hoped to make something of them. I added, in a joke, that I believed I should put them up for auction. Turner said, feeling annoyed, I suppose, at my remark, "Don't do that; let me have them." I sent them to him accordingly and he has just paid me for them.' ...[Redding] could not help saying 'Turner does this because he is so tender about his reputation; he will not have them in the market.' Campbell had just before been censured for lending his name to books written by other people which struck me when I made the remark. The poet however, was too joyous about his bargain to apply the remark to himself. I have since thought whether Turner did not do this with a desire to befriend Campbell. He was just the character to do such an act silently and bluntly.[14]

Last and most confusing was the account the son of engraver Edward Goodall. Although it conflates the agreements between Campbell and Turner and between Rogers and Turner, it shows the artist to be a man of compassion. "He told me," wrote Rawlinson, when repeating the younger Goodall's version,

> that Moxon, the publisher, had agreed with his father, the engraver, that Turner should be given a commission of twenty or more drawings for which he was to receive thirty pounds apiece, or somewhat about £700 in all. Goodall was to engrave the plates, and instead of being paid for them in the usual way, he and Moxon were to divide all the costs and risks, and to share the profits equally. A draft agreement to that effect was shown by Moxon to Goodall, and later on, the latter signed the document without reading it. Afterwards he discovered that it differed materially from the original proposal as he had understood it and that it would probably mean a very serious loss to him. For several weeks the household was in great anxiety, and Goodall, who was on very friendly terms with Turner, was advised to ask the painter to cancel the commission for the drawings. He did so, but at first met with refusal; shortly afterwards, Turner called at Goodall's house late one night and would come no further than the hall. On Goodall's going to him, he said: 'You ask me too much—see what a sum I lose.' Goodall replied: 'You could always get equally good pay for your time, Mr. Turner.' Turner said 'He did not see that he could be expected to forego such a sum.' Then Goodall's little daughter happened to come into the hall, and going up to Turner asked him 'if he was the great Mr. Turner?' Turner was pleased and said 'I am Mr. Turner, don't know about *great* Mr. Turner,' and patted her head. Finally he agreed to give up the commission and said: "This is the greatest act of generosity I have ever done in my life.' In the end he made the drawings, charged the publisher £5 each for the loan of them, and retained them in his possession until his death."[15]

Sinai's Thunder

When the people witnessed the thunder and lightning, the trumpet blast and the mountain smoking they all feared and trembled. So they took up a position much farther away and said to Moses, 'You speak to us, and we will listen; but let not God speak to us or we shall die.' Moses answered the people, 'Do not be afraid, for God has come to you only to test you and put his fears upon you, lest you should sin.'

Exodus 20: 18 - 21

In the fourth and final vignette for Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*, Turner depicts the poet's biblical metaphor in which Nature announces the appearance of God, "Like Sinai's Thunder pealing from the cloud."[16] In both the watercolor (no. 76, pl. XIII) and engraving (no. 77), God appears amid the clouds, accompanied by symbols of eternity and the Trinity. Below, Moses and his brother Aaron stand before the people (and the "two tables of the testimony"), as described in Exodus 20.

Turner adds imaginative intimacy to both the biblical story and Campbell's poem. Here, his more familiar ship motif is moon-shaped, and becomes an iconographical symbol for Eternal Hope. This symbol, although present in Campbell's imagery, is more prominently employed by the poet William Blake (1757 - 1827) as the vehicle by which Noah and his family were saved from the Deluge. Turner places the "Moony Ark" beneath Sinai's Thunder, visually combining the "Ark of Noah" and the "Ark of the Covenant." Blake, who had already associated these themes in his writings and illustrations, conveys the interrelation between "Hope" and "Imagination" which are the primary motifs from Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope.*[17] Like the "Ark of Noah," which was able to supersede the waters of materialism, so the "Ark of the Covenant" is able to supersede the Law — thus both represent the same struggles within man, those between Vision and Materialism, Faith and Law: "Man is the ark of God; the mercy seat is above, upon the ark. Cheribums guard it on either side, and in the midst is the holy law; man is either the ark of God or the phantom of the earth of the water."[18]

By employing the ark at the end of the *Ghost of Abel*, Blake demonstrates God's proclaimation of Mercy in a manner similar to that used in the story of the Deluge by the symbol of the Rainbow:

> In Thy Covenant of the Forgiveness or Sins: Death,
> O Holy! Is this Brotherhood. The Elohim saw their Oath
> Eternal First: they rolled apart trembling over the Mercy
> Seat, each in his station fixt in the Firmament
> by Peace, Brotherhood and Love.[19]

With *The Evening of the Deluge* (no. 7) and *The Morning After the Deluge*, Turner raises to a higher level of consciousness the opposing attitudes that ran parallel throughout his life. The threatening nature of *The Evening of the Deluge* reflects his pessimistic belief that humanity was doomed as a result of its inner weakness. In the complimentary *The Morning after the Deluge*, he manifests, with equal conviction, the belief that the creative process, an artistic view of life, can give new life to man. Jack Lindsay, having studied Turner's complex association with "hope," wrote a careful conclusion to the meaning of the work in the artist's *Fallacies of Hope*: "The idea which carries from first to last is that the hopes of man are betrayed, not by some whim of fate, but by an inner weakness or contradiction. From one angle then his poem appears as a counterblast to Campbell's poem. But I think the matter cannot be amply left at that; for Turner's creative activity itself, the picture to which each tag is attached, reveals powerfully a belief in art's integrative faculty. Thus, Turner accepts one half of Campbell's views, but rejects his concept of history as too simple and optimistic. He feels the need to add to the pictorial harmonies a statement of disharmony and conflict."[20] Plate xiii, page 22



NO. [illegible]
J. M. W. Turner
Sinai's Thunder
The Poetical Works
1836
engraving in printed book
[illegible] x 102
engraved by E. Goodall
Collection of Mordechai Omer, Tel-Aviv

Notes

CHAPTER ONE

[1] "Historical Pictures" was the term Turner used while cataloging his work for the *Liber Studiorum*.

[2] *Morning Chronicle,* April 28, 1800.

[3] Finberg 1939, p. 66.

[4] This description relates to *The Tenth Plague of Egypt* in *St. James's Chronicle* May 18 - 20, 1802.

[5] Burke 1757, p. 13. The first elaborate study on Turner and the sublime was done by Gage 1965; the last study was by Wilton 1981. See also Lawrence Gowing, "Turner and Literature" *Times Literary Supplement*, July 10, 1981.

[6] Livermore 1957, p. 84. See also Robertson 1908, in which James Thompson refers to a plague in Egypt in *The Seasons* ("Summer," line 1052 ff.) and in a note to the third stanza of the *Ode on Oeolus's Harp*.

[7] For the role of Thomson's poem in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries see Omer 1976c, and this catalogue pp. 36 - 37.

[8] For Wilson-Turner relationship see Beckett 1947.

[9] Ziff 1963, pp. 316.

[10] Finberg 1909, LXVI., *Dolbadern Sketchbook* p. 118.

[11] Ibid., p. 114a.

[12] Ziff 1963, p. 316.

[13] Finberg 1909, XLVI., *Dolbadern Sketchbook*, p. 79.

[14] Ibid., LXXI-LXXX.

[15] Ibid., LXXII, *Studies in the Louvre Sketch Book*.

[16] Ibid., p. 31a, 30a, 30, 29d.

[17] Ibid., p. 28.

[18] Ibid., p. 60a.

[19] Finberg 1939, p. 101.

[20] Finberg 1909, LXXXI, p. 42 - 43, 152 - 153.

[21] Ibid., CXIX, -R.

[22] Wilton 1980, p. 136

[23] Butlin and Joll 1977, p. 25, no. 35.

[24] Wilton 1980, p. 133.

[25] Finberg 1909, XC. *Studies for Pictures; Isleworth Sketchbook*, p. 56a, p. 79a.

[26] Thornbury 1861, p. 497.

[27] 1 Samuel 27: 8 - 20. Butlin and Joll 1977, p. 52.

[28] John Landseer, *Review of Publications of Art*, 1808, II, pp. 166 - 167.

[29] Finberg 1939, p.78.

[30] This work is now in Southampton Art Gallery, England.

[31] Also known as *The Egremont Seascape*, now in Petworth House.

[32] Joseph Farington, *Diary 1793 - 1821*, typewritten, in the British Museum, Section of Prints and Drawings.

[33] Ziff 1983, p. 316.

[34] See, for example, Veronese's *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (1580) in the Museum of Art History, Vienna.

[35] Finberg 1939, XLVI, p.188.

[36] Ibid., XLVI, p. 114a.

[37] Finberg 1968, p. 74.

[38] Ibid.

[39] The Deluge is also a dominant image in Thomson's *The Seasons*, providing the term for the biblical Deluge, as well as a metaphor for the overwhelming power of natural forces brought by God to challenge the limits of humanity. Thomson equates the force that impels the change of the four seasons with the biblical deluge, and, with them, four elements: water (Spring), sunlight (Summer), moonlight (Autumn), and air (Winter). From the actual biblical deluge, represented as water in *Spring*, moonlight in *Autumn*, and air in *Winter*. Thomson's use of the deluge as an image to convey the possible extension from the particular to the heavenly, from the immediate scene in nature to the eternal world of God's nature, is similar to Turner's use of actual landscapes in paitings of biblical and mythological subjects. Turner's method of representation allows him to see the universal deluge, as a massive ship-

wreck and suggests, as do the images in Thomson's poem, a dialectical relationship by which the actual can become the infinite: a particular human experience can be a metaphor for the total order formed only in God's perfection. For more details see Omer 1976b, pp. 99 - 104.

40 Medwin 1913, p. 255.

41 Milton's exploration of the scriptural treatment of Noah and the Flood consumes two hundred lines. Of those, Turner chose to portray the moment of Adam's vision at which the storm comes to climax (verses 738 - 745). In comparison, the Bible recounts this stage of the Deluge in just the barest statement of fact: "In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventh day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the window of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights." (Genesis 6: 10 - 11).

42 Lindsay 1966, p. 50.

43 This verse, composed by Turner for his poetical work *Fallacies of Hope*, accompanied the painting *Shade and Darkness in the Evening of the Deluge* when it was exhibited together with *Light and Color (Goethe's Theory)- the Morning After the Deluge - Moses Writing the Books of Genesis* in 1843 at the Royal Academy. The following verse, also from *Fallacies of Hope*, accompanied the latter painting: "The ark stood firmly on Ararat; th'returning sun/exhaled earth's humid bubbles, and emulous of light/Reflected her lost forms, each in prismatic guise/Hope's harbinger, ephemeral as the summer fly/Which rises, flits, expands, and dies.'

44 Finberg 1939, p. 390.

45 See Lawrence Gowing, "Turner's Pictures of Nothing" *Art News*, Vol. 62, October 1963, pp. 31 33.

CHAPTER TWO

1 In the first half of the nineteenth century, former James Mitan pupils William Finden (1787-1852) and his younger brother Edward Francis Finden (1791 - 1857) owned and operated one of the principal printing establishments in London. Two of their major publications included many designs after Turner; *Landscape Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron* (1831 - 1834) contained twenty-six such plates and *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible*, contained twenty-five. Their other notable works included a series for the *Gallery of Braces* (1832 - 1834): *Byron's Beauties*, (1834); *Landscape Illustrations to the Life and Poetical Works of George Crabbe* (1834) and *Portraits of the Female Aristocracy of the Court of Queen Victoria* (1838 - 1839). The ambitious undertakings *The Royal Gallery of British Art* and *The Beauties of Thomas Moore* caused the Finden brothers great losses from which they never recovered. Their bankruptcy, which was announced in *The Times*, May 1842, caused Turner great concern. He had completed the watercolors *Oberwesel* and *Lake Nemi* for publication in the *Royal Gallery of British Art*.

2 For Turner's illustrations to Byron, see Omer 1975b.

3 Finden 1836, I, p 2.

4 See A. Burgess and F. Haskell, *The Age of the Grand Tour, New York*, 1967.

5 Finden 1836, I, p. 2.

6 This book, edited by the widow of Claudius James Rich, was published in London in 1836. Rich visited ancient Nineveh early in November 1820. He became ill as a result of this trip and died a year later at age thirty-four.

7 In Finden's Bible, nine of the engravings were after the Reverend Master and four, after Arundell.

8 Captain Fitzmaurice participated on eight sketches, five of which he engraved himself. Major Felix drew the sketches of *Wilderness of Sinai* and *Non-Amon*.

9 Charles Robert Cockerell (1788 - 1863) was a leading classical archaeologist and one of the most revered figures in nineteenth-century British architecture.

10 Turner received the largest assignment (twenty-six sketches); the rest were elaborated by other artists such as J. D. Harding (1798 - 1863) (twenty), David Roberts (1796 - 1864) (twelve), Clarkson Stanfield (1793 - 1867) (twelve), Sir Augustus Wall Callcott (1779 - 1884) (eleven), etc.

11 Ruskin 1904, vol. XIII, p. 534.

12 Ruskin was most critical of this painting for its inaccuracies of the landscape: "This Fifth is a total failure; the pyramids look like brick-kilns, and the fire running along the ground like the burning of manure" (Ruskin 1904, vol. III, p. 240).

13 This subject exists today only as an engraving prepared for the *Liber Studiorum* (published on April 24, 1812). Turner repainted the original oil, probably about 1808, changing it into a "subject from the Runic Superstitions," possibly suggesting the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor.

14 Ruskin 1904, vol. III, p. 240.

15 Exhibited with the text from Matthew 27: 24.

16 Exhibited with the text from John 11: 13 - 25.

17 Exhibited with no actual title but the text is from Daniel 3: 26. According to George Jones' manuscript reminiscence, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the choice of this subject for this picture was the spoils of a friendly competition between Turner and Jones.

[18] See Butlin and Joll 1977, vol. I, p. 168.

[19] Gage 1972, p. 53.

[20] Quoted in Daffrone 1883, p. 68.

[21] Ruskin 1904, vol. XIII, p. 448, n. 2.

[22] Hakewill 1820. See also Rawlinson 1908 - 1913 vol. I, pp. 78 - 86.

[23] *Byron's Life and Works*, see Omer 1975b, pp. 26 - 29.

[24] Ruskin 1904, vol. XIII, p. 42.

[25] The Reverend Kinglsey, in a letter to Ruskin (preserved at Brantwood), quoted in Ruskin 1904, vol. VII, p. 191.

[26]Ruskin 1904, vol. VII, p. 192. It is interesting to note that Ruskin gives different biblical references in support of this thought, which opposes the Law to the Gospel. For the idea of the Law and Sinai, he mentions Hosea 8: 5 and 15; for the idea of the Gospel and Lebanon, he also quotes Hosea 14: 4 - 6.

[27] Ruskin 1904, vol. XIII, p. 447.

[28] Ibid.

[29] For Ruskin's classified lists of Turner's effects of light see Ruskin 1904, vol. III, pp. 421 - 423.

[30] Ruskin 1904, vol. III, p. 340.

[31] Ibid., p. 383.

[32] Ruskin 1904, VII, pp. 154 - 155.

[33] Ruskin 1904, III, pp. 382 - 383.

[34] Ruskin 1904, XIII, p. 447.

[35] Cunningham, 1843, p. 205.

[36]Yitzhak Schattner's book, *Mappat Eretz Yisrael Vetoldoteyha,* (Mossad Bialik, Jerusalem, 1951), provides a basis for this summary.

[37]Barry 1867, p. 28.

CHAPTER THREE

[1] Omer 1975b.

[2] Quoted in Keynes 1966, p. 777.

[3] Quoted in Medwin 1913, p. 255.

[4] See chapter 2.

[5] British Museum, MS l4, Box I. p. 24.

[6] Rawlinson 1908 - 1913, vol. I, p. lviii.

[7] *Paradise Lost*; VI, p. 824 - 836.

[8] Quoted in Omer 1975b.

[9] The principal biblical source for Milton's three temptations of Christ and their order of presentation is in Luke 4: 1-13.

[10] Beattie 1849, p. 194.

[11] Ibid., p. 237.

[12] Ibid., p. 232.

[13] Ibid., p. 233.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Rawlinson 1908 - 1913, vol. 1, pp. lix - lx.

[16] Campbell 1837, p. 31.

[17] "Hope and Imagination," wrote Campbell, "are inseparable agents — even in those contemplative moments when our imagination wanders beyond the boundaries of this world, our minds are not unattended with an impression that we shall some day have a wider and more distinct prospect of the universe, instead of the penal glimpse we now enjoy" (Campbell 1837, p. 22).

[18] Quoted in Keynes 1966, p. 82.

[19] Ibid., p. 781.

[20] Lindsay 1966, p. 45.

Abbreviations

PRIMARY SOURCES

Campbell 1837
Thomas Campbell. *The Poetical Works.* London: Moxon, 1837.

Finden 1836
Landscape Illustrations of the Bible, etc. Engraved by W. and E. Finden. London: John Murray, 1836.

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